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A N
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL
A C C O U N T
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
O F
W.^M CHILLINGWORTH,

Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

Τοῖς τοῖς ἐν μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔσω, ἄφοδος, ἀδίκας, ἐλεύθερος, παρρη-
σίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος, &c. Lucian.



L O N D O N :

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M. DCC. XXV.

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
PETER
LORD KING,
BARON OF OCKHAM,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

MY LORD,



It is my good fortune in this address to YOUR LORDSHIP, that I am under no necessity of making the
A 2 which

DEDICATION.

excuses and apologies usual on such occasions. The esteem which men have for the writings of an Author, naturally inspires them with a desire of being informed of what relates to his person; I therefore presumed that this performance, such as it is, would not be unacceptable to YOUR LORDSHIP, since it concerns that eminent assertor of the Protestant Cause, Mr. CHILLINGWORTH.

You will find here, MY LORD, besides the History of his Life, a true representation of his Sentiments: his sincere unbiassed love of truth, and the anxious indefatigable inquiries he made after it;

2

his

DEDICATION.

his changes of Religion, or rather, his *constancy in following that way to heaven, which for the present seemed to him the most probable*; his charitable friendly attempts to reclaim such as he thought were in a wrong way; and his generous and truly Christian resolution, not to comply with any thing which he judged erroneous or unlawful, but steadfastly to profess and maintain what he esteemed to be just and true, even at the expence of what was dearest to him in this world: You will see, at the same time, the odious imputations cast upon him, not only by those *without*, who *bate the light, lest it should re-*

DEDICATION.

prove them or make them manifest; but also by some among us, who being too fond of their own notions, could not come up to that degree of freedom, impartiality, and moderation, which was so remarkable in him.

These noble dispositions of mind will, I conceive, make him more particularly amiable to YOUR LORDSHIP, who have so just an idea of the purity of the Christian Religion, and of the sense of primitive Antiquity; who are so distinguished for your candor and moderation, so conspicuous for your uprightness, justice, and equity, that your advancement to the high station,

DEDICATION.

tion, you are now in, was no less agreeable to the unanimous wishes and desires of the Nation, than to his Majesty's tender concern for the welfare of his People.

I have the honour to be with profound Respect,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most humble and
most obedient Servant,

P. DES MAIZEAUX.



T H E
P R E F A C E.



SOME time ago I published the LIFE of the ever-memorable Mr. HALES, as a Specimen of an *Historical and critical English Dictionary*, in which an account will be given of such persons as have made themselves famous by their writings or other actions in Great Britain and Ireland. But as a work of that nature requires an uncommon labour and diligence, and consequently a considerable time, I have been desired by some persons, who have a particular esteem for Mr. Chillingworth, to select, out of my materials, what concern'd that excellent man, and

P R E F A C E.

to print it by itself. This hath given me the liberty of enlarging that Article beyond the bounds required in a Dictionary. For in such a work there ought to be a suitable proportion in the several Articles, with reference to the whole, which must be brought within as narrow a compass as possible.

As to the method I have followed, it is the same with that of Mr. Bayle in his *Historical and critical Dictionary*. This Piece consists of two parts: the first is the *Text*, which includes the most material circumstances of the subject, and might, in some measure, be read without interruption: the second is the *Remarks*, which contain several additions, illustrations, and proofs relating to what is said in the *Text*. The marks in the *Text*, direct the Reader to the *Remarks* underneath; after the reading of which he is to return to the *Text*, and resume it where he left off. By that means he will have a clearer and fuller notion of the whole,

P R E F A C E.

whole, than if he should read either the Text or the Remarks separately.

I must here acknowledge the favour of those Gentlemen, who have been pleas'd to communicate to me some Letters of Mr. Chillingworth, which were never before printed. They lead us into a particular knowledge of his sentiments, and therefore cannot but be very acceptable to the Reader.

This being a *critical* as well as an *historical* Account, I found my self obliged to act the part both of a Critick and of an Historian. But, the Criticisms relating only to matter of fact, or the vindication of Mr. Chillingworth, I hope those eminent Persons, whose mistakes I have taken the liberty to observe, will not be offended with my freedom, since no man is exempt from error, and the assertions of great men are apt to be taken upon trust, and received as authorities.

London, July, 1725.

T H E

THE ROYAL HONOURABLE

P E T E R

L O R D K I N G

B A D O N O F A S S I S

L O R D H O N O U R A B L E

G R E A T B R I T A I N

M R L O R D

I have the honour to
 receive in the
 to your
 ship, that I am
 der no necessity of making
 A B





THE LIFE

OF

MR. CHILLINGWORTH.



WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, a Divine of the Church of England, celebrated for the excellency of his parts, for his moderation, and masterly way of defending the Cause of the Protestants against the Papists, was „ (a) son of *William Chillingworth* Citizen (afterwards Mayor) of „ *Oxford*, was born in *S. Martin's* Parish „ there, in a little house on the north side „ of the conduit at *Quatervois*, in *October* „ 1602, and on the last of that month received baptism there.“ William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and

(a) Anth.
à Wood,
Athenæ
Oxonienſes
&c. Vol.
II. col. 20.
of the 1.
edition.

B

then

- then Fellow of St. John's College and Master of Arts (b), was his Godfather (c).
- (b) *The Diary of the Life of Archbishop Laud*, published by Mr. Wharton, pag. 1, 2.
- (c) Wood, *ubi supr.* c. 21.
- (d) *Ibid.* c. 20.

„ (d) After he had been educated in Grammar learning under *Edw. Sylvester* a noted Latinist and Greccian, (who taught privately in *Allsaints* Parish) or in the Free school joining to *Magdalen* College, or in both, he became scholar of *Trinity* College under the tuition of Mr. *Rob. Skinner*, on the second of *June* 1618, being then about two years standing in the University; and going thro with ease the *Classes* of Logic and Philosophy, was admitted Master of Arts in the latter end of 1623, and Fellow of the said College 10. *June* 1628. He was then observed, *says Mr. Wood*, to be no drudg at his study, but being a man of great parts would do much in a little time when he settled to it. He would often walk in the College grove and contemplate, but when he met with any scholar there, he would enter into discourse, and dispute, with him, purposely to facilitate and make the way of wrangling common with him; which was a fashion used in those days, especially among the disputing Theologists, or among those that set themselves apart purposely for Divinity.“

Mr. Chillingworth did not confine his Studies to Divinity. He applied himself, with great success, to Mathematicks: and, what shews the extent of his genius, he was also

MR. CHILLINGWORTH.

3

accounted a good Poet (*A*). His intimate friends were, Sir Lucius Cary, afterwards Viscount Falkland; Mr. John Hales of Eton, &c; but more particularly Mr. Gilbert Sheldon, who succeeded Dr. Juxon in the see of Canterbury (*e*).

(*e*) In the year 1663.

The Study and Conversation of the University Scholars, in his time, turn'd chiefly upon the Controversies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The occasion was this. Towards the latter end of the Reign of King James I, the Romish Priests, both regular and secular, were allow'd an uncommon liberty in England; which was continued in the Reign of King Charles I, upon the account of his marriage with Princess Henrietta, sister to Henry IV. of France. Several of them *lived at, or near Oxford* (*f*); and made frequent attempts upon the young Scholars: whereby some were deluded to the Romish Religion, and afterwards convey'd to the English Seminaries beyond sea.

(*f*) Wood ubi *supra* c. 485.

This practice became so notorious in the year 1628, that the Parliament presented

B 2

a Peti-

(*A*) *He was also accounted a good Poet.*] Sir John Suckling mentions him in his Sessions of the Poets (*1*):

(1) *Fragmenta aurea. A Collection of all the incomparable Pieces written by Sir John Suckling. &c. Lond. 1626, p. 7.*

- „ There *Selden*, and he fate hard by the chair;
- „ *Weniman* not far off, which was very fair;
- „ *Sinds* with *Townsend*, for they kept no order;
- „ *Digby* and *Shillingsworth* a little further.

- (g) On the 31 of March 1628. a Petition to the King (g), in the second Article whereof they desired that His Majesty
- (h) Rushworth, *Historical Collections &c. from the year 1618 to 1629.* Lond. 1659. pag. 516, 517. „ (h) would be pleased to command a surer „ and strait watch to be kept in and over His „ Majesties Ports and Havens, and to commit „ the care and charge of searching of Ships „ for the discovery and apprehension, as well „ of Jesuits and Seminary Priests brought in, „ as of Children and young Students sent „ over beyond the Seas, to suck in the Poi- „ son of Rebellion and Superstition; unto „ men of approved fidelity and Religion: „ And such as should be convicted to have „ connived or combined in the bringing in „ the one, or conveying of the other, that „ the Laws might pass upon them with spee- „ dy execution.“ To which the King was pleas'd to return the following Answer: *His Majesty (i) granteth all that is in this Article; and to this end will give Order to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, that in their several places they be carefull to see this Article fully executed, &c.* But little regard was had to the King's Orders, which occasion'd new complaints from the Parlia- ment: and his Majesty declared, that if the Laws had not been executed according to his intention, *the fault (k) lay in the subordinate Officers and Ministers in the Country, by whose Remisness Jesuits and Priests did escape without Apprehension.*
- (i) Rushworth, *ibid* pag. 517.
- (k) Rushworth, *ubi* *supr.* Part II. from 1628 to 1640: Lord. 1680. pag. 11.

It is no wonder therefore, if several Popish Missionaries continued in England, notwithstanding the Proceedings of the Parliament. There was amongst them a famous Jesuit, who went under the name of *John Fisher*, and was very busy in seeking to make Converts (B). He was then much conversant in Oxford;

(B) *A famous Jesuit who went under the name of John Fisher.*] His true name was *John Perse*, or *Percey*. In the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, we find this account of him: *Joannes Perseus aliàs Fisherus (1) natione Anglus, patria Dunelmensis (2), ex familia heretica natus, singulari Dei beneficio cùm adolescens 15. annorum esset, non paucis difficultatum obstaculis superatis, in Galliam transfretavit. Ibi Rhemos primùm, deinde Romam petiit . . . cum nec carceres, nec tormenta formidiret, generosus Athleta Christi, rursus impetrata à Maioribus facultate, traiecit in Angliam, ubi tertio, & quarto, iterum comprehensus, & in custodiam compactus est. Nec in carceribus ipsis sine lucro multarum animarum Christo & Ecclesie adiunctarum fuit. Nam accedentes ad se non paucos Nobiles consilii causa, & fama doctrinæ permotos ad castra Christi feliciter perduxit, & inter eos Illustrissimam D. Comitissam Ducis Buckinghamiæ Matrem, qui cum summa gratia floreret apud Iacobum Regem, ab eo obtinuit, ut libero è carcere apud Matrem suam, ei degere liceret. Quin, & ipse Rex de rebus fidei controversis, audire ipsum coràm differentem non est dedignatus, proposuitquè ei scripto insuper capita, quæ suam Maiestatem retinebant, quo minùs Romane Fidei manus daret, iubendo, ut ad singula responderet. Et quomniis Pater breui temporis intervallo ad singula solidissimè responsum reposuerit, non tamen affectus est à Rege assen-*

(1) *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu.* Opus . . . recognitum, & productum ad annum Inbi-
lei 1675, à Nathael Sotvello e-
iusdem So-
cietatis
Presbytero:
Romæ
1676, pag.
487, 488.
(2) Mr.
Wood says
that he
was a
Yorkshire
Man. A-
thenæ Ox-
on. Vol. II.
col. 8.

Oxford; and according to the usual method of his Order, attack'd such young students as distinguished themselves by the pregnancy of their parts. Mr. Chillingworth being generally accounted a very ingenious man, Mr. Fisher used all means possible to be acquainted with him (1). Their Conversations soon turn'd upon the points controverted between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; but more particularly upon the necessity of an infallible living Judge in matters of Faith: which hath always been the

(1) Wood,
Vol. II. c.
20. See
Remark
(E).

sum, quem optabat. Post obitum Comitissæ iterum carceri mancipatus, iterum deprecatione Serenissimæ Regine Angliæ Henriettæ Mariæ libertati restitutus, denno cultura animarum naviter se impendit, donec tandem fractus annis, & laboribus, quartum Confessor Domini in vinculis, ærumnosam hanc vitam cum cœlesti (ut speramus) commutavit, Londini die 3. Decembris 1641.

What the Jesuits say here concerning the Countess of Buckingham's being drawn over to the Church of Rome by Mr. Fisher, is confirm'd by Archbishop Laud, who further observes, that the Marquess her son *was almost lost from the Church of England between the continual cunning labours of that Jesuit, and the persuasions of the Lady his Mother*: whereupon he had, by the King's order, a Conference with Mr. Fisher on the 24th of May 1622, before the Marquess and his Mother, and by the force of his Arguments settled that Lord in the communion of the Church of England, wherein he continued to his death; and brought the Lady his Mother to the Church again, but she was not so happy as to continue with us (3).

(3) See
The History
and Tryal of
Arch Bishop
Laud,
p. 226;
and the
Diary of his
Life, p. 5.

the darling topick of the Romanists, and is perhaps the strongest battery they can raise against the Protestants. Mr. Chillingworth found himself unable to answer the Arguments of the Jesuit: nor could he be satisfied with the Solutions which were given him by those of our learned Divines to whom he proposed the said Arguments (*m*). And being, among other things, convinced of the necessity of an infallible living Judge of Controversies; he was easily brought to believe, that this infallible Judge was in the Church of Rome, and that therefore the Church of Rome must be the true Church, and the only Church in which men could be saved. He thereupon forsook the Communion of the Church of England, and with an incredible satisfaction of mind, embraced the Romish Religion. Soon after he wrote a Letter *to his very loving friend Mr. Gilbert Sheldon* (for thus runs the superscription), wherein he recommended to his consideration the chief Arguments that had most prevail'd with himself, and invited him to follow his example. That Letter having never been printed, I shall transcribe it here (*n*):

(*m*) Wood,
ibid.

(*n*) For this Letter I am obliged to the favour of the Right Reverend Dr. Kennet, Lord Bishop of Peterborough. See Rem (*W*).

„ Good Mr. Sheldon. Partly mine
„ own necessities and fears, and partly cha-
„ rity to some others, have drawn me out
„ of London into the Countrey. One par-
„ ticular cause, and not the least, was the

THE LIFE OF

„ news of your sickness, which had I found
 „ it had continued with you with any dan-
 „ ger; no danger of my own should have
 „ kept me from you. I am very glad to hear
 „ of your recovery, but sorry that your occa-
 „ sions do draw you so suddenly to London.
 „ But, I pray, leave a direction with Charles
 „ Green, where you may be spoken with,
 „ and how I may send to you; and you shall
 „ very shortly hear further from me. Mean-
 „ while let me intreat you to consider most
 „ seriously of these two Quæries:

„ I. *Whether it be not evident from Scrip-
 „ ture, and Fathers, and Reason; from the
 „ goodness of God, and the necessity of Man-
 „ kind; that there must be some one Church
 „ infallible in matters of Faith?*

„ II. *Whether there be any other Society of
 „ men in the World, besides the Church of
 „ Rome; that either can upon good warrant,
 „ or indeed at all, challenge to itself the pri-
 „ vilege of Infallibility in matter of Faith?*

„ When you have applied your most atten-
 „ tive consideration upon these Questions, I
 „ do assure my self your Resolution will be
 „ affirmative in the first, and negative in the
 „ second. And then the Conclusion will be,
 „ that you will approve and follow the way
 „ wherein I have had the happiness to enter
 „ before you; and should think it infinitely
 „ increased, if it would please God to draw
 „ you after. I rest your assured friend, &c.

In

In order to secure his conquest, Mr. Fisher persuaded Mr. Chillingworth to go over to the College of the Jesuits at Doway (o); and he was desir'd to set down in writing the *Motives* or Reasons, that had engaged him to embrace the Romish Religion. (o) See Rem. (E).

When Dr. Laud, who was then Bishop of London, heard that Mr. Chillingworth was gone over to the Church of Rome, and had retired to Doway; he was extremely concern'd at it. However, as he knew him to be a sincere lover of Truth, he was not altogether without some hope of reclaiming him. He therefore wrote to him: and Mr. Chillingworth's Answer expressing a great deal of moderation, candor and impartiality; that Prelat continued to correspond with him, and press'd him with several Arguments against the Doctrine and Practice of the Romanists.

This set Mr. Chillingworth upon a new Inquiry, which had the desir'd effect. The Arguments, by which he had been convinced, began now to appear to him in another light. But the place where he was, not being suitable to the state of a free impartial Inquirer, he resolv'd to come back into England, and left Doway, in the year 1631 (p), after a short stay there (C). (p) Wood, ubi supr. c. 21.

Arch-

(C) *And left Doway after a short stay there*]. Mr. Chillingworth was soon tired with the company of his new friends

(q) The first day of his Tryal, March 12, 1643. Archbishop Laud, in his Speech before the Lords (q), appeal'd to the Letters that passed then between him and Mr. Chillingworth, in order to vindicate himself from the charge of

friends at Doway, as it appears by the following passages of Mr. Lacy, a Jesuit, who wrote a bitter invective against him, after he had publish'd his Book, intituled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation, &c.* Had he not made, says the Jesuit (1), so much hast in running back from the Catholique, as though he had come thither only to fetch fire of faction; he might have acquainted himselfe better, with the practice of the holy Church, in this very point of Miracles, and relations concerning Saints. And in the next page: Yet had the man but stayd, says he (2), to have learned his Catechisme among vs, he might have knowne the use and meaning of our Ceremonies: now having come into the Church, as Cato came unto the Theater, only to go out againe; what meruaile if he returne a ridiculous censurer, of what he only saw and understood not? Such post-hast were hardly tolerable in a Spie, much lesse in one who comes to see and censure.

- (1) *The Judgment of an University-Man &c.* pag. 39. See Remark (M M).
 (2) pag. 40.
 (3) p. 13. Would any man thinke, says he elsewhere (3), that this man was neuer Catholique above two months at once, who knowes the Iesuites so well? He enlarges that time, in another place. Nor could the aduocate himselfe, says he (4), out of his little experience of the condition of such men [the Jesuits] which he might haue gathered in the space of halfe a yeare or there about, while he was connumeratus in nobis, one of our number (as S. Peter said of Iudas,) be ignorant of other causes. Which space of halfe a year, includes the time when he profess'd himself a Roman-Catholick in England; and consequently

shews

of Popery. „ Mr. *Chillingworth's* Learning
 „ and Abilities, *says he* (r), are sufficiently
 „ known to all *Your Lordships*. He was gone,
 „ and settled at Doway. My Letters brought
 „ him
 (r) *History of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud, &c.*
 P. 227.

shews that his stay at Doway must have been very short. As for our Jesuit's objections against Mr. Chillingworth, they are a meer piece of sophistry. He pretends that Mr. Chillingworth was not sufficiently acquainted with the Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome, because he did not live long in that Communion. But could he not know their Doctrines from their own Books? And as to their Practices and Ceremonies, had he staid but two months at Doway, that time was sufficient to give him a right notion of them.

The same Author speaking of Mr. Chillingworth's embracing the Romish Religion, says (5), *Indeed he* (5) p. 18.
lost his fellowship by it; but I presume the Catholique would have given him a better, had he but held out his yeares probation. And there is no reason to doubt, that if he had continued with the Jesuits, they would have distinguish'd him suitably to his parts and merit. From whence we may also conclude, that he met with a kind and respectful usage, while he was with them: tho' some Protestants, either out of envy, or malice, did suggest the contrary; as may be seen in the following passage of Dr. Fuller: „ *William Chillingworth, says*
he (6), „ was born in the City of *Oxford*, so that by (6) *The History of the Worthies of England, &c.* pag. 339, 340.
 „ the benefit of his birth he fell from the lap of his
 „ mother into the arms of the *Muses*. He was bred in
 „ *Trinity colledge* in this University; an acute and
 „ subtil Disputant, but unsected in his judgment, which
 „ made him go beyond the Seas, and in some sort was
 „ conciled to the Church of *Rome*: but, whether because
 „ he

„ him back; and he lived and dyed a Defender of the *Church of England*. And
 „ that this is so, Your Lordships cannot but
 „ know: for Mr. *Pryn* took away my Letters,
 „ and all the Papers which concerned him,
 „ and they were examined at the Committee.

These Letters are supposed to be lost (*D*).

Upon

„ he found not the respect he expected, (which *some*
 „ shrewdly suggest) or because his Conscience could
 „ not close with all the *Romish* corruptions, (which
 „ *more* charitably believe) he returned into *England*, &c.
 Besides this groundless story, there are two things in
 this passage that may be animadverted upon. For,
 1. Mr. Chillingworth's *going beyond the Seas* was not
 occasion'd by his being *unsettled in his judgment*: but
 on the contrary, by his being *settled* in his opinion, that
 the *Romish Religion* was to be preferr'd before the
 Religion of the Church of England. 2. He was *concoiled*
to the Church of Rome, not *in some sort*, but entirely and
 sincerely.

(7) See
 Rem. (E.) Mr. Wood tells the same story; as we shall see here-
 after (7). But if there had been any, the least shadow
 of truth in these reports, Mr. Lacey, who was perfectly
 acquainted with every thing that related to Mr. Chillingworth while he was at Doway, had never fail'd to
 take an advantage of it, and to say that he only left
 them, because he would not go through the austerities
 that are practis'd among them, &c.

(*D*) *The Letters that pass'd between Bishop Laud and Mr. Chillingworth are suppos'd to be lost*. The
 Papers of Archbishop Laud were taken from him by
 Mr. Prynne, pursuant to an Order of the House of
 Commons;

Upon his return into England, Mr. Chillingworth was received with great kindness and affection by Bishop Laud, who approved his design of retiring to Oxford (s) in order to compleat the important work he was upon, a free inquiry into Religion.

(s) Bishop Laud was then Chancellor of the University,

Some Authors having given an unfaithful, or unaccurate account of the foregoing particulars, I shall rectify their mistakes in the Remarks (E).

Mr.

Commons; and Mr. Prynne kept them till after the Restoration, when, by order of the King in Council, they were delivered to Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury. But „ (1) very few of those Papers, „ which Prynne had published in several Pamphlets and „ Books, came into Archbishop Sheldon's hands. And „ not a few, even of those which had not been published, were found wanting. Particularly the Papers of „ Archbishop Laud, concerning the Conversion of his „ Godson, Mr. William Chillingworth; which the Archbishop says were taken away from him by Mr. Prynne, „ and being by him produced at the Committee for „ drawing up his Charge, were there examined.

(1) Mr. Wharton, in his *Preface to the History of the Troubles and Tryal of William Laud, &c.*

(E) *Some Authors having been misinform'd as to the foregoing particulars, I shall take notice of their mistakes*. Mr. Cressy, once a Divine of the Church of England, but afterwards a Benedictine Monk and a great zealot for the Church of Rome (1), in his Book against Dr. Stillingfleet, intitled, *Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church &c.*, speaking of Mr. Chillingworth, with whom he had been personally acquainted, says,

(1) See Mr. Wood, *ubi sup.* c. 385, &c.

„ (3) Mr.

THE LIFE OF

Mr. Chillingworth being now at Oxford, pursu'd his Inquiries with all the care and industry imaginable. He not only read and examined such Books as were the most important

(2) *Fana-*
ticism fana-
tically im-
puted &c.
printed in
1672, p.
165, 166.

„ (2) Mr. *Chillingworth* a litle before [the year 1638]
„ was returned out of *Flanders*; Where he had profes-
„ sed himself a *Catholick*: and being sent for by *Arch-*
„ *bishop Laud*, was strictly examined by him touching
„ his *Religion*, And whether he went to *Masse*, or
„ *Common Prayer*; to whom he gaue this account,
„ That he had entertained such scruples touching *Ca-*
„ *tholick Religion*, and withall was as yet so vnsatisfyed
„ with the grounds of the *English Protestant Religion*,
„ that at present his conscience would not permit him
„ to goe either to *Masse* or to *Common Prayer*. And
„ therefore with his *Graces* leaue he was resolved to
„ spend a year or two in a solitude, and the Study of
„ *Greek* and *Latin Fathers*, fully purposing to embrace
„ that *Religion* which appeared to him most consonant
„ to what the Fathers generally taught. The *Archbishop*
„ much commended his design, and dismissed him with
„ his blessing, and a promise also that he should enioy
„ entire liberty to prosecute so laudable a *Study*. Very
„ busy in this Study I found, and left him, in England,
„ [in the year 1638]. But it was presently interrupted

(3) *Traicté*
de l'Employ
des Saints
Peres &c.

„ by that unlucky *Book* of *Daille* (3), which perswaded
„ him to a light esteem of the *Holy Fathers*, vpon whose
„ authority he would no longer rely, &c“. I. Mr.
Cressy intimates that Mr. Chillingworth *return'd out of*
Flanders, without any previous correspondence with
Archbishop Laud, or even without his knowledge; but
that the *Archbishop* hearing he was come over, *sent for*
him to his house, and *strictly examin'd him touching his*
Religion

portant for his purpose; but took all opportunities of arguing with learned Men of both persuasions, in order to find what they could say for themselves, or object against

Religion &c; which is a great mistake. II. He says that Mr. Chillingworth's return out of Flanders, was but a little before the year 1638: whereas it is certain that he was return'd before the year 1635; and according to Mr. Wood, he came over in 1631. III. He pretends, that Mr. Chillingworth told the Bishop, that he fully purpos'd to embrace that Religion which appeared to him most consonant to what the Fathers generally taught: but this is only grounded upon a story he is very fond of, concerning Mr. Daillé's Book &c; which shall be examin'd hereafter (4). IV. He says, the Archbishop dismissed Mr. Chillingworth with his blessing, and a promise also that he should enjoy entire liberty to prosecute so laudable a study: which being, in general, probably true, discovers in that illustrious Prelate a generous, equitable temper, that deserves our highest Commendation; and shews how sensible he was of the goodness of the Protestant Cause, if but examin'd freely and impartially.

(4) See Rem. (A A).

The Earl of Clarendon in his *Animadversions* upon the Book before mention'd, hath censur'd some of the faults we have observ'd: but at the same time he is fallen himself into some mistakes. „ If Mr. Cressy, says he (5), „ had not been very wary in saying anything that might „ redound to the honour of any of the present Prelats, „ he cannot but know that the present Arch-Bishop of „ Canterbury, [Dr. Laud] had first reclaimed him „ [Mr. Chillingworth] from his doubtings, and they „ were no more, nor had he ever declared himself a „ Catholick, except being at S. Omers amounts to such

(5) *Animadversions upon a Book intitled: Fana-ticism &c, Lond. 1674. P. 185.*

„ a De-

against their adversaries. At last, the Protestant Principles appearing to him the most agreeable, both to the Holy Scripture and right Reason, he declared for them. And having

„ a Declaration, before ever he was sent for by *Arch-*
 „ *Bishop Laud*“. 1. That noble Author asserts that Mr. Chillingworth went to *S. Omer*: whereas Archbishop Laud, who certainly knew it best, says it was *Dorway*. 2. He affirms that Mr. Chillingworth's Opinions concerning the Romish Religion, were but *doubtings*, and that *he never declared himself a Catholick*: but the contrary is evident, and could hardly be unknown to that noble Lord, tho' it did not occur to his memory, when he wrote his Book against Mr. Cressy.

Mr. Wood is guilty of the same error, as to the place whither Mr. Chillingworth retir'd beyond sea; and he gives us the following abusive account of his change of Religion, and return to the Church of England.

- (6) Wood, „ About the same time [1628], *says he* (6), being much
ubi supr. „ unsettled in his thoughts, he became acquainted with
 c. 20. „ one who went by the name of *John Fisher* a learned
 „ Jesuit and sophistical Disputant, who was often con-
 „ versant in these parts [Oxford]. At length by his
 „ persuasions, and the satisfaction of some doubts
 „ which he could not find among our great men at
 „ home, he went to the Jesuits College at *S. Omer*, for-
 „ sook his Religion, and became a Roman Ca-
 (7) *Ibid.* „ tholick.“ But „ (7) so it was, that he finding not
 c. 21. „ that satisfaction from the Jesuits concerning various
 „ points of Religion, or, (as some say) not that respect,
 „ which he expected, (for the common report among
 „ his Contemporaries in *Trinity* College was, that the
 „ Jesuits to try his temper, and exercise his obedience,
 „ did

having fully discover'd the sophistry of the *Motives* that had induced him to go over to the Church of Rome, he wrote a Paper to confute them (t); but did not think proper to publish it, for some reasons that we shall see hereafter. This Paper is now lost. It is true, we have a Paper of his on the same subject; but it seems to be written upon some other occasion, probably at the desire of some of his Friends. For he was, according to the Rule of the Apostle, *always ready to give an answer to every man that asked him the reason of the hope that was in him* (v). In this Paper he demonstrates the fallacy of the Arguments that had most prevail'd with him, to change his Religion (x).

(t) About the year 1634.

(v) 1. Epistle of St. Peter, Chap. iii. v. 15.

As Mr. Chillingworth in his forsaking the Church of England, as well as in his return to it, was solely influenc'd by a sincere love of truth, so he constantly persever'd in that divine temper of mind. Even after his return to Protestantism, he made no scruple to re-examine the grounds of it; as appears by a

(x) It was first publish'd in 1687, in the *Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth*, &c. See Rem. (II)

C

Letter

„ did put him upon servile duties far below him) he „ left them in the year 1631, returned to the Church „ of *England* (tho' the Presbyterians said not, but that „ he was always a Papist in his heart, or, as we now „ say, in masquerade) and was kindly received by his „ Godfather Dr. *Laud* then Bishop of *London*“. How improbable, inconsistent, and malicious these reports and insinuations are, let every body judge, who is acquainted with Mr. Chillingworth's Character (S).

(S) See Rem. (C)

THE LIFE OF

Letter he wrote to Dr. Sheldon, *containing some scruples* he had about leaving the Church of Rome and returning to the Church of England (y). These scruples, which he thus freely declared to his friends, seem to be the occasion of a report, that he had turn'd Papist a second time, and then Protestant again. (z). But that report is not better grounded, than the Objection made against him, that according to his Principles, a man could be *constant in no Religion* (F). As if being always

(y) See
Rem. (VV)

(z) See
Rem. (F.)

(F) *That according to his Principles a man could be constant in no Religion*]. Mr. Knott in one of his Pamphlets against Mr. Chillingworth, hath a whole Chapter to prove that his Principles *lay grounds to be constant in no Religion*. But how he makes good that imputation will appear by the examination of one or two paragraphs of that Chapter.

(1) *Christi-*
anity main-
tained, &c.
Chap. x. §
1. p. 71.

„ I said in the beginning, *says our Jesuit* (1), that as we could not know the way, vnlesse we first be told whether we goe; so it could little auayle vs to be put in a way, if by following it we might be misled. „ But suppose the end of our iourney be knowne, and the right way found, what better shall we be, if with all we be continually harkning to some suggestions, which neuer let vs rest, till we haue abandoned that path, by following other crosse-ways, as we chance to fall upon them“. Mr. Knott's design is to assert the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, by shewing that without such an infallible Guide, we can neither find out the true Religion, nor be *constant* in it, tho' we should happen to have found it. In order to prove that assertion, he says that, *as we could not know the way,*

ways ready to be better informed, and using all possible means to attain that information, necessarily drew after it a change or inconstancy in Opinions! Or, that forsaking what

C 2

is

way, unlesse we first be told, whether we goe; so it could little anayle us to be put in a way, if by following it we might be misled. This whole Objection has no other support than what arises from the metaphorical use of the words, *Way*, or *Path*. As if Men could not possibly be saved, or get to Heaven, unless by *following* some one particular set of Tenets, dictated by a Pope, or Council, or both! For this the word *Way*, signifies, as 'tis used by our Jesuit. But when this comes to be applied to the point in hand, it will be found a meer begging the question. For it supposes, 1. that there must be a standing infallible Guide; which is the matter in debate: and 2. that a man cannot possibly mistake the Directions of that infallible Guide. Now, the Scriptures are the words of an infallible Guide, which tell us *the way*: and if an infallible Interpreter of them be necessary, we shall want an infallible Interpreter of that infallible Interpreter, till a possibility of mistake is excluded.

But suppose, pursues Mr. Knott, the end of our journey be knowne, and the right way found, what better shall we be, if withall we be continually harkning to some suggestions, which neuer let vs rest, till we haue abandoned that path, by following other crosse-wayes, as we chance to fall upon them. I grant that if men were infallible, and infallibly knew themselves to be so, it would be very absurd for them to make farther enquiries. But how will our Jesuit prove that a man can be infallibly sure, he hath found the right way? And if he cannot
prove

is conceiv'd to be an error, and embracing what appears to be truth, were a crime; and a wilful obstinate adherence to prejudicated opinions, were a virtue! Mr. Chillingworth had far more generous and noble senti-

prove that, what can a man do better, than to be *continually* ready to use and obey his reason? Besides, why may we not *be constant* in the way we have chosen, if we never meet with any motives strong enough to make us alter our choice? Is not this the case of the Protestants? And we have an egregious instance of it in Mr. Chillingworth himself, who by his Inquiry having found that the Protestant Religion was the *best way*, was ever *constant* in it afterwards: tho' he was all the while ready to follow a better way, in case it could have been made known to him. Our Jesuit brings him in however, as a proof of his Assertion.

(2) Ibid.
p. 71, 72.

„ This is the case, *says he* (2), of the man with whome
„ we have to deale. I will not build vpon his deeds, I
„ meane his changes first from Protestant to Catho-
„ lique, then from Catholique to Protestant, and then
„ about againe to Catholique“. He speaks here of this
third Change, as if he had no doubt about it: but he
is less confident in another place. *No lesse liberty*, says

(3) Ibid.
Chap. I.
§ 10. p.
22.

(4) That
Faith neces-
sary to Sal-
vation is
not infalli-
ble: which
sophistical
propositi-
on, will be
consider'd
hereafter.

(5) Chap.
x. p. 71.

he (3), *doth this doctrine* (4) *affoord for belieuing, then*
it doth for liuing, giving scope to Apostosyes, and endlesse
changes of Religions, as this man's fourefold alteration
makes manifest, if all be true which is reported of him.
Which shews that this third Change, viz. from Protestant
to Catholique, was only a report, or a hearsay. But
what he durst not affirm in the first Chapter of that
Pamphlet, he takes for granted in the tenth: „ I meane
„ his changes, *says he* (5), first from Protestant to Ca-
„ tholique

sentiments. Mr. Knott, in his Book against Dr. Potter, having charged the Protestants with being *Schismaticks*, not only *from one another*, but even *from a mans self*; because
 C 3 the

„ tholique, then from Catholique to Protestant, and
 „ then about againe to Catholique; till at last, *adds he*,
 „ he be come to that passe, that it is hard to say, What
 „ he is, neyther *Precisian*, nor Subscriber to the 39. *Ar-*
 „ *ticles* (6), nor confessed *Socinian*, nor right Christian (6) See
 „ according to the grounds which he hath layd. If you Rem. (PT)
 „ will believe himsele, for matters of Religion, he is
 „ constant in nothing, but in *following that way to hea-*
 „ *uen which for the present seemes to him the most pro-*
 „ *bable*. He followes that which *at the present seems*
 „ *most probable*: A poore comfort in matters of *Fayth*,
 „ wherein errorr is of so great consequence. And yet
 „ this cold comfort is vpon the point of being lost; for
 „ the probability is limited to *the present*“.

It is true, that the *probability* is limited to the *present*; but that *Present* will subsist and continue till something better be offer'd: which neither Mr. Knott, nor any body of his Communion could do, in the judgment of Mr. Chillingworth. He charges Mr. Chillingworth's Principles (which is the Principle of all Protestants) with being but a *poore comfort*; I will therefore compare it with Mr. Knott's Principle (which is the Principle of the Church of Rome); that we may see which of the two is the most *comfortable*. The whole matter comes to this. There are two *ways* propos'd to go to Heaven; Reason or Inquiry, and Authority or Submission. By the first, which is Mr. Chillingworth's way, a Man will examin which way is the best: and tho' he is now convinced that he hath *found the right way*,
 upon

THE LIFE OF

the selfe-same Protestant to day is convicted in conscience, that his yesterday's Opinion was an error; as D. Potter, says he, knows a man in the world who from a Puritan was turned

(7) It follows from thence, that Changes of Religion, when only made in the pursuit of Truth, and attended with an humble, impartial and charitable subsequent behaviour, deserve the highest commendation: tho' they are commonly accounted odious and infamous. See Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, in the Article of *Weidnerus*, Rem. (A).

upon the best Inquiry he could make; yet as he knows his judgment is not infallible, he will still be ready to follow a better way, if such a one can be propos'd to him. But till then will be fixt and *constant* in that way which he hath preferr'd before all others. Thus having made the best use he could of his sense, reason, and capacity, he hath acted in a manner perfectly agreeable to the nature and duty of a rational Being: which is certainly the best *comfort* a man can have (7). Whereas according to Mr. Knott's (or the Romish) way, a man must renounce his Sense and Reason, and blindly submit to Authority. And as Authority, as such, is the same, and hath an equal right every where: (for by Authority here is meant no more than an Order or Command;) according to that way, a man ought to be not only a Protestant in England, and a Papist at Rome; but a Mahometan in Turkey, and a Pagan in Japan. Now what *Comfort* can a Man have, who acts as the most irrational creature; and must be *constant* in the religious way of the Country, wherein he happen'd to be born, or where he chances to live, whether it be Pagan or Mahometan, as well as Christian? If it be said that he is obliged to examine the Authority propos'd, and be satisfied with its grounds and lawfulness, before he submits to it: then he must be his own Guide in that examination, and led by his reason and by the greatest probability; and consequently he must abandon Mr. Knott's (or the Popish) Principle, and act according to the Principle of Mr. Chillingworth, and of all the Protestants.

I shall

turned to a moderate Protestant (a): Mr. Chillingworth answers him thus: „ It seemes
 „ then, *says he*, (b), that they that hold er-
 „ rors, must hold them fast, and take speciall
 C 4 „ care

I shall hardly find a more proper opportunity than this, to take notice of a horrid Calumny put upon Mr. Chillingworth by Dr. Wood, in one of his controversial Letters to Mr. Bulstrode. „ Can there be any thing
 „ more notoriously false, *says he* (8), than the words
 „ of Chillingworth, cited by you; *I see plainly, and*
 „ *with my own Eyes, Councils against Councils* (if he
 „ means General Councils, it is false) *a consent of Fa-*
 „ *thers of one Age, against a Consent of Fathers of another*
 „ *Age; the Church of one Age, against the Church of*
 „ *another Age.* If I cou'd find what he said here to be
 „ true, I wou'd soon discard all Revealed Religion, and
 „ wou'd turn Deist: for I don't see any Argument that
 „ can be more for a Deist's purpose than this, and if the
 „ Truth were known he was one in Masquerade; for
 „ a Confirmation of which I can give you a very good
 „ Testimony, that at the bottom he was such, notwith-
 „ standing his Book which he writ against us; Chilling-
 „ worth having an intimate Friendship with the Gentle-
 „ man of the Horse to the Grandfather (as I think) of the
 „ present Lord Mountague of Condroey, was asked by
 „ this Gentleman (who hearing all the World extol-
 „ ling Chillingworth for his great Learning, and parti-
 „ cularly in Controversy) as a true and sincere Friend
 „ to tell him his Opinion freely and candidly, which
 „ was the true Religion; to which he answer'd in short,
 „ that he [*the Enquirer*] should keep to the Religion in
 „ which he was (which was the Roman Catholick) for
 „ if there were any Religion, that it was the Right; and
 „ that

(a) Charity maintained by Catho-licks &c.

Chap. V. § 39.

(b) The Religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation, &c.

Chap. V. §. 103.

(8) Letters between

Doctor Wood a Roman Catholick, the

Pretender's Physician, and White-lock Bulstrode, Esq;

a Member of the Church of England,

&c. 136, & seq. That Letter is dated June 14, 1710.

THE LIFE OF

„ care of being convicted in conscience, that
 „ they are in error, for fear of being Schisma-
 „ tiques ! Protestants must continue Prote-
 „ stants,

„ that if there were none, that the worst that could
 „ happen to him was but so much Pains lost. I don't
 „ say that these are the Words of his Letter, but I re-
 „ member that they were much to this purpose. Now
 „ it is plain by this Letter (which I don't doubt but that
 „ you will say it is feigned) that this great Champion of
 „ your Religion was but a Sceptick in Religion at the
 „ best, and what most of your greatest Men are; for if
 „ they can believe that so many Learned and Holy Men
 „ have been deceived for so many Ages in Matter of
 „ this Consequence, have they not reason to doubt, that
 „ these latter Ages have been deceived so too; and so
 „ consequently there must be very little or no Security
 „ of the Certainty of the Christian Faith?“.

Dr. Wood, we see, represents here Mr. Chillingworth as a *Deist in Masquerade*, and one who was *but a Sceptick in Religion at the best*: and endeavours to prove that imputation by a Letter written by Mr. Chillingworth (when a profess'd Protestant) to a *Roman Catholick* Gentleman of his acquaintance, wherein he tells him *that he should keep to the Religion in which he was; for if there were any Religion, that it was the Right, &c.* But is it probable that Mr. Chillingworth (had he been of that opinion) would have trusted it to writing? and, is it possible, that the *Roman Catholicks*, who never spared Mr. Chillingworth's reputation, should have such Letter so long in their hands, and not have made it sooner a matter of reproach to him? So that, till the Original of that Letter be produced, we have, I think, sufficient grounds, to look upon Dr. Wood's assertion as a shameless Calumny.

„ stants, and Puritans Puritans, and Papists Pa-
 „ pists, nay Jewes, and Turkes, and Pagans,
 „ must remain Jewes, and Turkes, and Pagans,
 „ and goe on constantly to the Divell, or else
 „ forsooth they must bee *Schismaticques*, and
 „ that *from themselves*. And this perhaps is
 „ the cause that makes Papists so obstinate,
 „ not only in their common superstition, but
 „ also in adhering to the proper phancies of
 „ their severall Sects, so that it is a miracle to
 „ heare of any Iesuite, that hath forsaken the
 „ opinion of the Iesuites: or any Dominican
 „ that hath chang'd his for the Iesuits.
 „ Without question, this Gentleman my Ad-
 „ versary knowes none such, or else me-
 „ thinks he should not have objected it to
 „ D. Potter, *That he knew a man in the*
 „ *world who from a Puritan, was turned*
 „ *to a moderate Protestant*, which is likely
 „ to bee true. But sure if this bee all his fault,
 „ hee hath no reason to be ashamed of his ac-
 „ quaintance. For possibly it may be a fault
 „ to be in error, because many times it pro-
 „ ceeds from a fault: But sure the forsaking
 „ of error cannot be a sinne, unlesse to be
 „ in error be a vertue. And therefore to
 „ doe as you doe, to damne men for false
 „ opinions, and to call them *Schismaticques*
 „ for leaving them; to make pertinacy in
 „ error, that is, an unwillingnesse to be con-
 „ victed, or a resolution not to be convicted,
 „ the forme of Heresie, and to find fault with
 „ men,

„ men, for being convicted in conscience
 „ that they are in error, is the most incohe-
 „ rent and contradictory injustice that ever
 „ was heard of.

(c) Mr.
 Chilling-
 worth
 himself.

„ But, Sir, *adds Mr. Chillingworth*, if
 „ this be a strange matter to you, that which
 „ I shall tell you will be much stranger. I
 „ know a man (c) that of a moderate Prote-
 „ stant turn'd a Papist, and the day that he
 „ did so, (as all things that are done are per-
 „ fectcd some day or other,) was convicted
 „ in conscience, that his yesterdaies opini-
 „ on was an error, and yet thinks hee was
 „ no Schismaticque for doing so, and desires
 „ to bee informed by you, whether or no hee
 „ was mistaken? The same man afterwards
 „ upon better consideration, became a doubt-
 „ ing Papist, and of a doubting Papist a con-
 „ firm'd Protestant. And yet this man thinks
 „ himselfe no more to blame for all these
 „ changes, than a Travailer, who using all
 „ diligence to find the right way to some re-
 „ mote Citty, where he had never been,
 „ (as the partie I speak of had never been in
 „ Heaven,) did yet mistake it, and after finde
 „ his error, and amend it. Nay he stands
 „ upon his justification so farre as to maintain
 „ that his alterations, not only to you, but
 „ also from you by Gods mercy, were the
 „ most satisfactory actions to himselfe, that
 „ ever he did, and the greatest victories that
 „ ever he obtained over himselfe, and his af-
 „ fections

„ sections to those things which in this world
 „ are most precious; as wherein for Gods
 „ sake and (as he was verily perswaded,) out
 „ of love to the Truth, he went upon a cer-
 „ tain expectation of those inconveniences,
 „ which to ingenuous natures are of all most
 „ terrible. So that though there were much
 „ weaknesse in some of these alterations,
 „ yet certainly there was no wickednesse.
 „ Neither does he yeeld his weaknesse alto-
 „ gether without apologic, seeing his de-
 „ ductions were rationally, and out of *some*
 „ Principles commonly received by Prote-
 „ stants as well as Papists, and which by his
 „ education had got possession of his under-
 „ standing“.

Mr. Chillingworth, we see, was so far from thinking such Changes of Religion sinful or disreputable; that he glories in them, and makes them a matter of triumph. And that he never departed from that free, honest, and generous spirit, doth sufficiently appear by the following passage of his Preface to Mr. Knott. For he declares that he was as willing to be convinced by that Jesuit's Reasons, had they appear'd to him better grounded than his own; as the Jesuit could be desirous they might produce that effect.

„ Neither truly were you more willing,
 „ *says he (d)*, to effect such an alteration in *(d) Preface*
 „ me then I was to have it effected. For *&c. ubi*
 „ my *supr. §. 2.*

THE LIFE OF

„ my desire is to goe the right way to *eternall*
 „ *happinesse*. But whether this way lye
 „ on the right hand or the left, or streight
 „ forwards; whether it be by following a
 „ living Guide, or by seeking my direction
 „ in a book, or by hearkening to the secret
 „ whisper of some privat Spirit, to me it is
 „ indifferent. And he that is otherwise af-
 „ fected, and hath not a travellers indiffer-
 „ ence, which *Epictetus* requires in all that
 „ would find the truth, but much desires in
 „ respect of his ease, or pleasure, or profit,
 „ or advancement, or satisfaction of friends,
 „ or any humane consideration, that one
 „ way should be true rather than another;
 „ it is oddes but he will take his desire that it
 „ should be so, for an assurance that it is so.
 „ But I for my part, unlesse I deceive my
 „ selfe, was and still am so affected as I have
 „ made profession: not willing I confesse to
 „ take any thing upon trust, and to believe
 „ it without asking my selfe why; no, nor
 „ able to command my selfe (were I never so
 „ willing) to follow, like a sheepe, every
 „ sheeheard that should take upon him to
 „ guide me; or every flock that should
 „ chance to goe before me: but most apt
 „ and most willing to be led by reason to
 „ any way, or from it; and alwaies submit-
 „ ting all other reasons to this one, God hath
 „ said so, therefore it is true. Nor yet was
 „ I so unreasonable as to expect Mathemati-
 „ call

„ call demonstrations, from you in matters
 „ plainly incapable of them, such as are to
 „ be believed, and if we speak properly,
 „ cannot be known; such therefore I ex-
 „ pected not. For as he is an unreasonable
 „ Master, who requires a stronger assent to
 „ his conclusions than his arguments de-
 „ serve; so I conceive him a froward and
 „ undisciplin'd Scholar, who desires stronger
 „ arguments for a conclusion than the mat-
 „ ter will bear. But had you represented
 „ to my understanding such reasons of your
 „ Doctrine, as being weighed in an even
 „ ballance, held by an even hand, with those
 „ on the other side, would have turn'd the
 „ scale, and have made your Religion more
 „ credible than the contrary; certainly I
 „ should have despised the shame of one
 „ more alteration, and with both mine armes
 „ and all my heart most readily have embrac-
 „ ed it“.

And this noble disposition, the Jesuit calls
 Mr. Chillingworth's *inconstancy in Religion!*
 whereas in reality it was his steadiness and
constancy in following that way to heaven
which for the present seemed to him the most
probable: as he very well observes himself (e).

(e) Preface
 ibid. §. 5.

Mr. Chillingworth was no less conspicu-
 ous for his candor, moderation, charity, and
 good nature, than for his love of truth: an
 instance of which he gave in the case of
 Mr. Lewgar, a great zealot for the Church of

Rome (G). There had always been an intimate friendship between him and Mr. Chillingworth : but as soon as he heard that Mr. Chillingworth was return'd to the Church of England,

- (G) *Mr. Lewgar a great zelot for the Church of Rome*. Mr. Wood tells us (1) that *about* the year 1632, Mr. Lewgar was *beneficed in Essex* : but afterwards left his *Benefice and Religion*, and turn'd Roman Catholick ; being induced to it by the force of Mr. Chillingworth's Arguments. „ After *Will. Chillingworth*, says he (2), „ returned from beyond the seas, he had several Conferences with him about matters of Religion ; where „ in *Chillingworth* shewing himself a person of great „ dexterity, *Lewgar* was at length meerly by the force „ of his Arguments induced to believe that the Roman „ Church was a true Church, and that the Protestants „ were all in the wrong, as he used often to tell his „ friends, and withall to add, that *Chillingworth* was „ of no meek and winning spirit, but high and conceited, „ and so consequently unfit for a Religion that required „ Humility and Obedience, &c.“

- If Mr. Chillingworth (before he was a settled Protestant) did by the force of his Arguments induce Mr. Lewgar to turn Papist, it seems very strange, that Mr. Lewgar should say nothing about it in his angry Letter to him : for had he taken notice of it, no doubt but Mr. Chillingworth would have said something to him upon that head. But no such thing appears in his Answer (3). The truth is, Mr. Wood knew nothing of Mr. Chillingworth's Letter to Mr. Lewgar, nor of the Papers that pass'd between them, tho' they were printed a long time before his *Athenæ Oxonienses* came out (4). As to what he adds, that Mr. Lewgar used often to tell his

(1) See the
Text.

(2) See
Rem.(11)

(3) See

(4) See

MR. CHILLINGWORTH.

31

England, he sent him a very angry and abusive Letter, to which Mr. Chillingworth return'd an Answer full of love and charity. „ Though „ I am resolved, *says he (f)*, not to be much (f) *A Letter to Mr. Lemgar, at the end of Mr. Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, &c. Lond. 1687, 4^o.* „ afflicted for the loss of that which is not „ in my power to keep, yet I cannot deny, „ but the loss of a friend goes very near unto „ my heart: and by this name of a friend, I „ did presume till of late, that I might have „ called you, because, though perhaps for „ want of power and opportunity, I have „ done you no good office, yet I have been „ always willing and ready to do you the „ best service I could: and therefore I can- „ not but admire at that affected strangeness „ which, in your last Letter to me, you seem „ to take upon you, renouncing in a manner „ all relation to me, and tacitly excommu- „ nicating me from all interest in you: the „ *Superscription* of your Letter is *To Mr. Wil-* „ *liam*

his friends, that Mr. Chillingworth was *high and conceited* &c; such representation is indeed agreeable to the notion which Mr. Chillingworth gives of Mr. Lewgar, in the Answer to his Letter: but which of them better deserv'd the Character of *high and conceited*, Mr. Chillingworth or Mr. Lewgar, let that very Answer of Mr. Chillingworth determine. However, it is true, that Mr. Chillingworth was *unfit for a Religion that required Humility and Obedience*, in Mr. Lewgar's sense; that is, for a Religion that required an *implicite Faith*, or a *blind submission* to her new Doctrines and unwarrantable Practices.

„ *liam Chillingworth*, and your *Subscription*
 „ *John Lewgar*, as if you either disdained
 „ or made a conscience of stiling me your
 „ friend, or your self mine. If this proceed
 „ from passion and weakness, I pray mend
 „ it; if from reason I pray shew it: If you
 „ think me one of those to whom Saint *John*
 „ forbids you to say *God save you*, then you
 „ are to think and prove me one of those De-
 „ ceivers which deny Christ Jesus to be *come*
 „ *in the flesh*. If you think me an Heretick
 „ and therefore to be avoided, you must
 „ prove me *αἰσχρὸν ἄξιον*, condemned by my
 „ own judgment; which I know I cannot,
 „ and therefore I think you cannot: If you
 „ say *I do not hear the Church*, and therefore
 „ am to be esteemed an *Heathen* or *Publi-*
 „ *can*; you are to prove that by the Church
 „ there is meant the Church of *Rome*: and
 „ yet when you have done so, I hope Christi-
 „ ans are not forbidden to shew humanity
 „ and civility, even to *Pagans*: for God's
 „ sake, Mr. *Lewgar*, free your self from this
 „ blind zeal, at least for a little space; and
 „ consider with reason and moderation what
 „ strange crime you can charge me with, that
 „ should deserve this strange usage, especially
 „ from you: It is a crime to endeavour with
 „ all my understanding to find your Religion
 „ true, and to make my self a believer of it,
 „ and not be able to do so? Is it a crime to
 „ imploy all my reason upon the justification

„ of

„ of the Infallibility of the *Roman* Church,
„ and to find it impossible to be justified? I
„ will call God to witness, who knows my
„ heart better than you, that I have evened
„ the scale of my judgment as much as possi-
„ bly I could, and have not willingly allow-
„ ed any one grain of worldly motives on
„ either side; but have weighed the reasons
„ for your Religion and against with such in-
„ difference, as if there were nothing in the
„ world but God and my self; and is it my
„ fault, that that scale goes down which hath
„ the most weight in it? that that building
„ falls, which has a false foundation? have
„ you such power over your understanding,
„ that you can believe what you please,
„ though you see no reason, or that you can
„ suspend your belief when you do see rea-
„ son? If you have, I pray for our old friend-
„ ships sake teach me that trick; but until I
„ have learnt it, I pray blame me not for go-
„ ing the ordinary way; I mean for believing
„ or not believing as I see reason: If you can
„ convince me of wilful opposition against
„ the known truth, of negligence in seeking
„ it, of unwillingness to find it, of preferring
„ temporal respects before it, or of any other
„ fault, which is in my power to amend, that
„ is indeed a fault, if I amend it not, be as
„ angry with me as you please. But to im-
„ pute to me involuntary errors; or that I do
„ not see that which I would see, but cari-

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„ not;

THE LIFE OF

„ not ; or that I will not profess that which
 „ I do not believe ; certainly this is far more
 „ unreasonable error, than any which you
 „ can justly charge me with ; for let me tell
 „ you, the imputing *Socinianism* to me, who-
 „ soever was the author of it, was a wicked
 „ and groundless slander.

„ Perhaps you will say, for this is the usu-
 „ al song on that side, that pride is a volun-
 „ tary fault, and with this I am justly charge-
 „ able for forsaking that guide which God
 „ has appointed me to follow : But what if I
 „ forsook it, because I thought I had reason
 „ to fear, it was one of those blind guides
 „ which whosoever blindly follows, is threat-
 „ ned by our Saviour that both he and his
 „ guide shall fall into the Ditch ; then I hope
 „ you will grant it was not pride, but Con-
 „ science that moved me to do so ; for as it
 „ is wise humility to obey those whom God
 „ hath set over me, so it is sinful credulity to
 „ follow every man or every Church, that
 „ without warrant will take upon them to
 „ guide me : shew me then some good and
 „ evident title which the Church of *Rome*
 „ hath to this office, produce but one reason
 „ for it which upon trial will not finally be
 „ resolved and vanish into uncertainties ; and
 „ if I yield not unto it, say if you please I
 „ am as proud as Lucifer“.

Mr. Chillingworth says afterwards, that it
 seems to him very *strange and not far from a*
prodigy

prodigy that this Doctrine of the Roman Churches being the guide of faith, or having the privilege of Infallibility, if it be true doctrine, should not be known to the Evangelists, to the Apostles, and to the primitive Church, as he shews it was not; and concludes thus: All these things, says he, and many more are very strange to me, if the Infallibility of the Roman Church be indeed and were always by Christians acknowledged the foundation of our Faith: And therefore I beseech you pardon me, if I choose to build mine, upon one that is much firmer and safer, and lies open to none of these objections, which is Scripture and universal Tradition; and if one that is of this Faith may have leave to do so; I will subscribe with hand and heart, your very loving and true friend &c.

This Letter, for the excellency of it, hath been often printed (H).

Mr.

(H) *That Letter for the excellency of it hath been often printed.*] It was first printed in the Year 1662, with this

title: *Mr. Chillingworth's Letter touching Infallibility* (1). In the last page is the *Imprimatur* of M. Franck, Chaplain to Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, dated the 5th of August 1662 (2).

It was afterwards inserted in the fifth edition of Mr. Chillingworth's *Religion of the Protestants* &c, in the year 1684, under this title: *Reasons against Popery, in a Letter from Mr. William Chillingworth to his Friend Mr. Lewgar, persuading him to return to his Mother the*

(1) London printed by D. Maxwell for Timothy Garthwait, in 4^o pagg. xii.
(2) *Sextil.* 5. 1662.

THE LIFE OF

Mr. Lewgar could not help being touch'd with a Letter, which shew'd so much love, sincerity, and moderation. He desir'd to see his old Friend again; and Mr. Chillingworth had

Church of England from the corrupt Church of Rome

(3) See
Rem. (II.)

(3).

(4) *Ibid.*

It was printed again at the end of the contracted edition of Mr. Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants, &c.*, in 1687 (4), with this title: *Out of Mr. Chillingworth's Manuscript. A Letter to Mr. Lewgar, concerning the Church of Rome's being the Guide of Faith and Judge of Controversies.*

But notwithstanding all these several impressions, Mr. Grascome having met with an imperfect copy of it, inserted it as a Piece of Mr. Chillingworth never before publish'd, in the *Preface* of his Book, intitled: *Certamen Religiosum: or a dispute, manag'd by writing, between a Papist and a Protestant.... With .. a large LETTER of Mr. Chillingworth, never before Printed, shewing his Reasons Why He Deserted the Church of ROME* (5). Mr. Grascome gives the following account of it in his *Preface*:

(5) Printed at Oxford in 1704, in 8°.

„ It would be a Matter of no Difficulty, says he, to
 „ shew, in many other Instances, upon what *weak* and
 „ *sandy Foundations* these Men [the Papists] build their
 „ daring *Confidence*; and I had some Thoughts of pursuing it, but whilst I was thinking that might be too tedious for a *Preface*, it came into my Mind, that I had a small Thing by me relating to this Subject, which might be more gratefully accepted and eagerly desired, than any thing that can come from the *Living*. It is well known, That Mr. *Chillingworth*, by the indefatigable Labours of the *Romanists*, was for
 „ some

had a *discourse* with him about religion *before Mr. Skinner and Dr. Sheldon* (g). There pass'd afterwards several Papers between them, concerning the pretended Infallibility and Catholicity of the Church of Rome : and we have

(g) See the Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar, in the *Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth never before printed.* Lond. 1687. in 4^o. pag. 1. &c.

„ some time brought over to their Church, but by the
 „ Pains and Care of our most Reverend and Learned
 „ Arch-Bishop *Laud*, of Blessed Memory, was brought
 „ back again to the *Church of England*, wherein he liv-
 „ ed and died, and his Sincerity therein both his Life
 „ and learned Labours sufficiently testify : yet they
 „ were very unwilling to lose so great a Prize, and for
 „ some time after solicited him to Return, till a Letter
 „ from him put them out of all Hopes. This Letter
 „ the Judicious and Learned Knight, Sir *Thomas Fan-*
 „ *shaw*, who hath been a curious Collector and Pre-
 „ server of things Uncommon, or Excellent in their
 „ kind, was pleased to communicate to me : and be-
 „ cause I am not without Hope, that those Reasons,
 „ which prevailed with so Learned a Man, as Mr.
 „ *Chillingworth*, to Abandon the *Church of Rome*, may
 „ have some good Influence on others, to Deter them
 „ from going over to it, I will here give a true Copy
 „ of his Letter “. The famous Dr. *Hickes*, tho' a
 man who had a great knowledge of Books, thought
 this Piece had been first publish'd by Mr. *Grafcome* ; and
 he reprinted it in 1705, in the *Appendix* to a Book in-
 titled : *Several Letters which passed between Dr. George*
Hickes, and a Popish Priest, upon occasion of a young
Gentlewoman's departing from the Church of England to
that of Rome. He prefix'd this title to it: *Mr. Chilling-*
worth's Letter of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome,
or of that Doctrine which teaches the Roman Church to be

(b) *A Conference, &c.*

have a Paper of Mr. Chillingworth (b) which seems to contain the abstract or summary of their dispute. The question in debate was, *Whether the Church of Rome be the Catholick Church, and all out of her Communion are Hereticks or Schismatics.* Mr. Lewgar held the affirmative, and Mr. Chillingworth the negative. The Arguments on both sides are set down with the Answers and Replies to them. This Method hath the advantage of bringing a Controversy within a narrow compass, and of shewing at one view the weight of the arguments, the closeness of the answers, and the justness of the conclusions: and thereby it was the most suited to Mr. Chillingworth's clear, impartial, and strong way of arguing.

We have in the same manner the substance of a dispute he had with Mr. Daniel (i),

the Guide of Faith, taken from the printed Copy in the Preface to a Book entituled, „ Certamen Religiosum, or, „ a dispute between a Papist, and a Protestant, &c. „ Oxford, printed 1704“. And in the Preface to that Volume, speaking of the Appendix, he says, „ The II „ Paper is a Letter of Mr. Chillingworth, about the In- „ fallibility of the Church of Rome. I have publish'd „ it again from a late printed Copy, because I think it „ worthy to be read of all Men, especially by Prote- „ stants, who when they happen to be assaulted pub- „ lickly, or privately by Popish Priests may make this „ use of it, to desie them to answer this Letter, and in „ the meantime to forbear “.

niel (i), wherein he disproves the *Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, by an Argument taken from the Contradictions which are contain'd in the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* (k). He had another with a Gentleman, he does not name, in which he confutes the same Infallibility, by proving that, either the present Church of Rome errs, in offering *Tapers* and *incense* to the Virgin Mary; or that the ancient Church of Rome did err, in condemning as Hereticks the Collydirians, for offering a *Cake* to her (l).

Besides the Pieces already mention'd, Mr. Chillingworth wrote one to demonstrate that the Doctrine of Infallibility, the main point of the Romish Votaries, is neither *evident of it self*, nor grounded upon *certain* and *infallible reasons*, nor warranted by any passage of the *Scripture* (m.) And in two other Papers, he shews that the Church of Rome hath formerly erred; first, by the admitting of *Infants* to the *Eucharist*, and holding that without it they could not be saved (n); and secondly, by teaching the Doctrines of the *Millenaries*, viz. that before the Worlds end Christ should reign upon Earth for a thousand years, and that the Saints should live under him in all holiness and happiness (o): both which Doctrines are condemn'd as false and heretical, by the present Church of Rome. He writ

(i) Mr. Wood ubi supr. Vol. II. c. 114. observes that *John Floyd*, a Jesuit, went by the Name of *Daniel*, or *Dan. à Jezu*. See below Rem. (L.L.)
(k) *Additional Discourses &c.* ubi supr. p. 91.
(l) Ibid. p. 41.

(m) Pag. 26.

(n) Pag. 68.

(o) Pag. 80.

also a short *Letter*, in answer to some Objections put to him by one of his friends, wherein he shews that neither the Fathers, nor the Councils are infallible witnesses of Tradition; and that the Infallibility of the Church of Rome must first of all be proved from the Scripture. He concludes with these words, „ Remember that if we have any „ Infallible way, we have no use (at least „ no necessity) of an Infallible Guide; for „ if we may be saved by following the „ Scripture as near as we can (though we „ err) it is as good as any Interpreter to keep „ unity in charity (which is only needful) „ though not in opinion: and this cannot „ be ridiculous, because they say, if any „ man misinterpret the Council of *Trent*, „ it shall not damn him; and why (without „ any more ado) may not the same be said „ of Scripture? (p).

(p) Pag.
90.

I must not forget his *Answer* to some Passages in the *Dialogues*, publish'd under the name of Mr. *Rushworth*. The occasion was this. The Lord Digby desir'd Mr. Chillingworth to meet Mr. White, the true Author of these Dialogues, at the lodgings of Sir Kenelm Digby, a late convert to the Church of Rome. The Lord Digby was there himself. Their conference turn'd upon *Tradition*: and as Mr. White had treated the same matter in his Dialogues, which were not yet publish'd, Mr. Chillingworth, probably

probably at the request of the Lord Digby, selected out of them some passages, relating to that subject, and confuted them (q). See the Remarks (I). (q) Pag. 103.

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(I) See the Remarks]. The Reader may perhaps be glad to know what grounds I have for some things affirm'd in the foregoing Paragraph.

1. I said, that Mr. White was the true Author of the Dialogues printed under the name of Mr. *Rushworth*. These Dialogues were first publish'd at Paris in the year 1640 (2), with this title: *The Dialogues of William Richworth, or the iudgment of common sense in the choise of Religion*. That edition contains three, Dialogues; and in a short Preface it is said that *Richworth* their Author, died in the year 1637. They were reprinted in 1654. (3) with the name of *Rushworth* instead of *Richworth*; and these words are added in the title: *Last edition, corrected and enlarg'd by Thomas White, Gent.* In the Advice to the Reader, Mr. White still attributes those Dialogues to Mr. *Rushworth*; and observes that in this edition *besides a very considerable polishment of the whole, it hath the addition of a Preface and a Fourth Dialogue*. The same year 1654, Mr. White put out an *Apology for Rushworth's Dialogues: Wherein the Exceptions of the Lords Falkland and Digby are answer'd &c* (4); and in the *Advertisement* he desires the Reader to take notice, that *this Apology particularly relates to the last edition of Rushworth's Dialogues in 1654, as which alone, says he, has felt throughout this Authors last hand: which plainly shews that William Rushworth and Thomas White, are one and the same person*. And indeed, whoever compares the edition of 1640 with that of 1654, will find such alterations, as it is hardly possible

(2) In 12°.

(3) At London, tho' the title hath Paris, in 12°.

(4) A small 8°. suppos'd to be printed at Paris.

THE LIFE OF

The foregoing Pieces were publish'd in the Year 1687, under the title of *Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth never before printed* (r). There are some other Writings of his against the Church of Rome, which

(r) See Rem. (II).

ble Mr. White would have made in the work of another Author, but had a right to make in his own. Dr. Tillotson says, that *he hath reason to believe* that Mr. White *was the Authour of those Dialogues which pass under Rushworth's name* (s).

(5) The Rule of Faith, &c. p. 119. of the 2^d. edit. 1676.

(6) Letters between the Lord George Digby, and Sir Kenelm Digby Kt. concerning Religion: Lond. 1651, pag. 84. 85. That Letter is dated, *Sherborn, March 30. 1639.*

2. As to the Conference Mr. Chillingworth had with Mr. White, at the request of the Lord Digby; I will cite that Lord's own words, in one of his Letters to Sir Kenelm Digby. „ Now for proof of the ground it self, *says he* (6), that all doctrines of Faith whatsoever admitted in the present Church, were so taught by Christ to the Church which he planted himself; you Alledge this argument: The reason why the present Church beleeveth any proposition to be of Faith, is, because the immediate preceding Church of the age before delivered it unto her for such, and so you may drive it on (say you) from age to age until you come to the Apostles and Christ; an easie progress; and which, if you remember Mr. *White* much insisted upon at the time when Mr. *Chillingworth* did me the favour to give him a meeting for conference at your lodging “.

3. Now that Mr. Chillingworth had a manuscript Copy of these Dialogues, when he answer'd some passages in them, I infer from this, that all those passages, except the first, are wanting in the several Impressions of the Dialogues: and it is probable that they were struck out of the Manuscript by Mr. White, after he had

which have not, as yet, been made publick: viz. 1. An *Answer to five Questions* propos'd to him by Mr. Peake, about the Nature of Faith, and the Resolution and Consequences of the Faith of Protestants. 2. A *Discourse of the Nature of Faith*. 3. Of the Absurdity of departing from the Church of England for want of Succession of visible Professors in all Ages. 4. A brief *Answer to several Texts of Scripture alledged to prove the Church, to be one, visible, universal, perpetual and infallible* (s).

(s) See
Rem.
(VV).

But in the year 1635, he was engaged in a Work, that gave him a far greater opportunity to confute the Principles of the Church of Rome, and to vindicate the Protestant Religion. The Jesuit I have already mention'd, who went by the name of *Edward Knott* (K), had put out in 1630 a little

had seen Mr. Chillingworth's Answer. However the editor of that Paper of Mr. Chillingworth hath intitled it: *An Answer to some Passages in Rushworths Dialogues: beginning at the third Dialogue Section 12. p. 181. Ed. Paris, 1654. about Traditions* (7): taking for granted that all those passages are to be found in the *third Dialogue*. Which he might be led into, by finding the first passage to be as cited; and concluding, without looking further, that the rest did follow.

(7) See
Rem., (II).

(K) A Jesuit who went by the name of *Edward Knott*].

THE LIFE OF

little Book call'd, *Charity mistaken, with the want whereof, Catholickes are unjustly charged: for affirming, as they do with grief, that Protestancy vnrepented destroies* (t) In 8°. *Salvation* (t). That Book was answer'd by Dr.

(1) Not Knott]. His true name was *Matthias* (1) *Wilson*. He was born at *Pegsworth* neare *Morpeth* in *Northumberland*: and was for severall years *Professor of Divinity at the English Colledge in Rome*; then *Vice-Provinctiall*; and lastly, *Provinciall of all English Jesuits* (2). He dyed at *London* on the fourth of *January 1655*, according to the *English account*, and was buried the next day in the *S. Pancras Church near that City* (3).

(2) Mr. In the *Bibliotheca Patrum Societatis Jesu*, we find this account of him (4):

EDWARDUS KNOTTUS, vero nomine MATTHIAS WILSONUS, natione Anglus, patria Northumber. Vir eximie doctrinae, & aptissimae ad gubernandum mansuetudinis. Diu Romae in Collegio Anglorum Iuuentutem illam educavit; deinde Anglicanae Provinciae nostrae extra Angliam egit Viceprovincialem, postea totius Provinciae bis Praepositum. In comitijs Generalibus Societatis Romae anno 1646. quibus ut Provincialis interfuit, electus fuit in unum ex Definitoribus; vir magnis animi dotibus humili in corpore praeditus. Ingressus fuerat in Societatem post absoluta studia Theologica Romae anno salutis 1606, aetatis 26. & iam Sacerdotio initiatus; & primos seruos Tironum ad senectutem usque retinuit. Religiosae disciplinae vel in minimis custos in se ipso accuratus, & in aliis quibus praerat exactor sedulus. Demum annis grauis, & maturus caelo Londini dum Provinciam secundo administraret migravit ad praemia laborum, die 14 Ianuarii

1656

Dr. Potter, Provost of Queen's College in Oxford; and his Answer came out in 1633, with this title: *Want of Charitie iustly charged, on all such Romanists, as dare (without truth or modesty) affirme, that Protestancie destroyeth Salvation. In Answer to a late Popish Pamphlet intituled Charity Mistaken &c.* (u) The Jesuit replied, in 1634, under this title: *Mercy and Truth. Or Charity maintayned by Catholiques. By way of Reply vpon an Answer lately framed by D. Potter to a Treatise which had formerly proued, That Charity was Mistaken by Protestants: With the want whereof Catholiques are vnjustly charged, for affirming, That Protestancy vnrepented destroyes Salvation. Deuided into two Parts.* Mr. Chillingworth undertook to answer that Reply: Which gave him frequent occasions to resort to his most ingenious and learned friend the Lord Falkland, at Great Tew, his Lordship's Seat in Oxfordshire, who could not only assist him with his curious Library, but help him by his Conversation (L).

(u) See the Article POTTER (Christopher).

About

1656. *Scriptis Anglice librum insignem aduersus Doctorem hereticum Potterum &c.*

The Catalogue of Mr. Knott's Books, which follows here, I refer to another place (5).

(L) Which gave him frequent occasions to resort to his friend the Lord Falkland &c]. „ When Mr. Chillingworth,

(5) See Rem. (KK).

About that time, Mr. Chillingworth wrote a Letter to one of his Friends, who, it seems, had desir'd to know what judgment might be made of Arianism from the sense

(1) *The genuine Remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow, late Bishop of Lincoln, &c. p. 329.* „ *worth*, says *Bishop Barlow* in a Letter to *Sir Peter Pett*, (1), undertook the Defence of *Dr. Potter's Book* against the *Jesuite*, he was almost continually at *Tew* with my Lord [Falkland], examining the *Reasons* of both Parties, *pro* and *con*, and their invalidity or consequence, where Mr. *Chillingworth* had the benefit of my Lord's Company, and his good *Library*. The benefit he had by my Lord's Company, and rational Discourse, was very great, as Mr. *Chillingworth* would modestly and truly confess. But his *Library*, which was well furnish'd with choice Books (I have several times been in it, and seen them) such as Mr. *Chillingworth* neither had, nor ever heard of many of them, 'till my Lord shew'd him the Books and the passages in them, which were significant and pertinent to the purpose. So that it is certain that most of those *Ancient Authorities* which Mr. *Chillingworth* makes use of, he owes, first to my Lord of *Falkland's* Learning, that he could give him so good directions; and next to his civility and kindness, that he would direct him.

In another Letter to one of his Friends, who had writ to him for his judgment, *Wherein Mr. Chillingworth's peculiar excellency above other Writers consisted*

(2) Ibid. (2); the Bishop returns the following Answer:
 P. 344. „ You desire to know, says he (3), wherein Mr.
 (3) P. 347. „ *Chillingworth's* Excellency above other *Writers* did consist? So that you seem to take for granted, that „ he

sense of Antiquity. I shall give it here, such as I transcribed it from Mr. Chillingworth's Original, which was communicated (x) In 'A' to me (x). And for the further satisfaction pril 1719.
of

„ he has an Excellency (if not above all, yet) above many, or most Writers ; and I think so too.

„ But then the Case must be cautiously stated ; for his excellency we speak of, cannot consist in any extraordinary Knowledge he had of *Antiquity*, (Sacred or Civil,) of *Councils* and *Fathers*, or Learned Mens Animadversions upon them ; nor in any great Skill he had in several *Tongues* and *Languages*, &c.

„ But his Excellency wherein he excell'd many (if not most) Writers, did arise from, and consist in his *Logick* ; both *natural* ; and (by exceeding great industry) *acquired*.....

„ But that *Logick* in which Mr. *Chillingworth's* excellency did principally consist, was his *acquir'd* *Logick* ; he industriously studied it, finding the exceeding use of it, especially in Controversies of Religion. *Logick* (and that only) makes a Man to write so, that his Arguments shall be, 1. *Consequent*, 2. *Evident* : For that (and that only) enables a Writer really to know, whether the premises do indeed infer the Conclusion ; or otherwise are false, or *fallacious*, and *Sophistical*, and not truly *Logicall* and *concluding* Arguments : And for this, Mr. *Chillingworth*, (after an industrious and diligent reading *Aristotle's* and *Crakanthorp's Logick*, who were best able to instruct him) was of greater ability to judge truly, than most (if not all) the Writers I have yet met with.

„ Besides, Mr. *Chillingworth* in all his *Disputes* against *Popery*, draws his Arguments not from *Fa-*
„ *thers*

THE LIFE OF

of the Reader, I will set down at large in the Remarks, some of the passages cited or referr'd to by Mr. Chillingworth, which I happen'd to light upon.

„ Deare

„ *thers* or *Councils* (though in several things they may
 „ be of good use, though they be not *Infallible*) but
 „ from the *Sacred Scriptures*; which being of *Divine*
 „ Authority, and *Infallible*, are a sure and just ground
 „ of that confidence we are speaking of.

I beg leave to make some Observations on the foregoing Passages.

Bishop Barlow being asked, *Wherein Mr. Chillingworth's excellency above other Writers did consist*, says it cannot consist in any extraordinary knowledge he had of Antiquity, (*Sacred or Civil*), of Councils and Fathers, or Learned Mens Animadversions upon them; nor in any great Skill he had in several Tongues and Languages, &c.?

I will not pretend to say, that he exceeded other Writers in these particulars, especially when he began to write his Book, he being then but 33 years old; and My Lord Falkland did probably furnish him with some materials: but yet we have reason to believe, both from that Book, and from other private Writings of his, that he was well versed in *sacred* and *civil Antiquity*, and understood several *Tongues* or *Languages*. Certainly, his affirming that he did see plainly, and with his own eyes, that there are Councils against Councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a Consent of Fathers of one Age, against a Consent of Fathers of another age; the Church of one age against the Church of another age (4), is a sufficient proof that he had a very great Knowledge of *sacred Antiquity*; and

(4) Chap.
vi. § 56.

„ Deare Harry (*y*), I am very for- (*y*) The
 „ ry it was my ill fortune not to see thee Letter is
 „ the day that I went out of Oxford : other without
 „ wise I should haue thank'd thee very hear Date: and
 „ tily for the fauour thou didst the night be- the Cover
 „ fore, it doth not
 appear to
 whom it
 was writ-
 ten.

far greater than several eminent men have had, who have made it the constant subject of their study and application. For his clear head, sound judgment, and free impartial inquiry after truth, made him *see* what these learned men could not perceive. And the reason is, because they only read those Antients, either with a view to stock and enrich their memory; or in order to find out authorities to confirm their own opinions and prejudices. Whatever the Fathers say, is sacred to them, and receiv'd with a sort of religious respect and reverence. But Mr. Chillingworth proceeded in a different way. He read them carefully and digested them well: but then he consider'd them as fallible men; and having no regard to names or persons, he made a true judgment of them, which enabled him to assert the cause of Protestants more effectually than had been done before.

I conclude with the following judicious Observation of Dr. Hare: „ *Mr. Chillingworth, says he* (*5*), is (*5*) *Scripture vindicated, &c; Preface, p. xxxii.*
 „ certainly a good Reasoner, and may be read with
 „ much advantage: but I fear the reading of him by
 „ Young Divines hath had one great inconvenience;
 „ they see little shew of *Reading* in him, and from
 „ thence are induced to think, there is no necessity of
 „ Learning to make a good Divine; nay, that if he
 „ had been more a Scholar, he had been a worse Rea-
 „ soner; and therefore not to study the ancient Writers
 „ of the Church is one step to the being *Chillingworths*
 E themselves:

THE LIFE OF

„ fore, especially for Mr. Couentryes com-
 „ pany and discourse, whose excellent witt
 „ I doe very much admire, and had I so
 „ much interest in him as you haue, I
 „ should desire him often (though I hope I
 „ need not) to remember what our Sau-
 „ our sayes,—*To whom much is giuen, of*
 „ *them much shall be required.*

„ Mr. Taylor did much confirme my opi-
 „ nion of his sufficiency; but let mee tell
 „ you in your eare—meethinkes he wants
 „ much of the Ethicall part of a discourser,
 „ and flights too much many times the Ar-
 „ guments of those he discourses with:
 „ but this is a fault he would quickly leaue,
 „ if he had a friend that would discreetly
 „ tell him of it. If you or Mr. Couentry
 „ would tell him, that you heard one that
 „ knowes him, magnifye him exceedingly
 „ for other thinges, but censure him for
 „ this, you might doe him a very freindly
 „ office: and my writing to you thus much,
 „ giues

„ themselves: I fear, I say, the reading Mr. *Chilling-*
 „ *worth* in their first years has had this influence, to
 „ make them think, that good Parts and good Sense
 „ would do without Learning, and that Learning is ra-
 „ ther a prejudice than an improvement of them. But
 „ 'tis a great mistake to judge of a man's Learning by
 „ the shew that is made of it: Mr. *Chillingworth* had
 „ studied hard, and digested well what he read, and
 „ so must they who hope to write as well, and be as
 „ much esteemed.

„ giues you grownd enough to say so true-
 „ ly : but you must not gine the least suspi-
 „ cion that I am the man, and therefore not
 „ doe it yet a good while.

„ When Dr. Sheldon comes to Oxford, I
 „ will be there againe, and then will be ve-
 „ ry ready to doe any seruice in the busi-
 „ nesse you imparted to mee.

„ I was mistaken in my directing you to
 „ Eusebius for the matter you wott of. You
 „ shall find it in a witnesse much farther
 „ from exception herein, then Eusebius :
 „ euen Athanasius himselfe, the greatest
 „ aduersary of that doctrine ; and Hilary
 „ who was his second. See the first, in *Ep.*
 „ *de Synodis Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 917. *D.*
 „ *Tom. 1. edit. Paris. 1627.* See the se-
 „ cond, *de Synodis.* fol. 97. In the first, you
 „ shall find that the eighty Fathers which
 „ condemn'd Samosatenus, affirm'd expresse-
 „ ly,—That *the Sonne is not of the same*
 „ *essence of the Father* : which is to contra-
 „ dict formally the Councell of Nice, which
 „ decreed *the Sonne Coessentiall to the Fa-*
 „ *ther.* In the second, you shall find these
 „ wordes to the same purpose,—*Octogin-*
 „ *ta Episcopi olim respuerunt τὸ Homoeu-*
 „ *sion (M).* See also, if you please, Justin.
 „ *cont.*

(M) *Octoginta Episcopi olim respuerunt τὸ Homousion*].
 The whole passage stands thus : *Octoginta Episcopi olim*
 E 2 *respuerunt*

THE LIFE OF

„ *cont. Tryph.* p. 283, 356, 357. Tertull.
 „ against Praxeas, c. 9. Novatian *de Trin.*
 „ *in fine*, who is joyn'd with Tertullian.
 „ Arhanas. *Ep. de Fide Dion. Alex.* T. 1.
 „ p. 551. Basil. T. 2. p. 802, 803. *edit.*
 „ *Paris.* 1618. See St. Hierom, *Apol.* 2.
 „ *cont. Ruffinum*, T. 2. p. 329. *Par.* 1579.
 „ See Petavius upon Epiph. his *Panar. ad*
 „ *Hær. 69. quæ est Arij.* p. 285; and con-
 „ sider how well he cleares Lucian the Mar-
 „ tyr from Arianisme, and what he there
 „ confesses of all the Ancient Fathers.
 „ If you could understand French, I
 „ would referre to Perron, p. 633. of his
 „ Reply to K. James; where you should
 „ find these wordes: *If a man should de-*
 „ *mand of an Arrian, if he would submitt*
 „ *to the judgment of the Church of the*
 „ *ages præcedent to that of Constantine and*
 „ *Marcian, he would make no difficulty of*
 „ *it, but would presse himselfe that the Con-*
 „ *troversye might be decided by that little*
 „ *which remaines to us of the Authors of*
 „ *that time. For an Arrian would find in*
 „ *Irenaus, Tertullian, and others, which*
 „ *remaine*

respuerunt [to Homouision], *sed trecenti decem & octo*
nuper receperunt. Et mihi quidem ipse ille hic numerus
sanctus est: in quo Abraham uictor regum impiorum, ab
eo qui æterni sacerdotii est forma, benedicitur. D. Hila-
rius Pictavorum Episcopus &c. Basileæ 1550, pag. 334;
& edit. Paris. 1605, col. 359, 360.

„ *remaine of those ages,—— That the*
 „ *Sonne is the instrument of the Father ;*
 „ *That the Father commanded the Sonne in*
 „ *the works of creation ; That the Father*
 „ *and the Sonne are——aliud & aliud (N):*
 „ *which thinges he that should now hold,*
 „ *now when the Language of the Church*
 „ *is more examin'd, would be esteemed a*
 „ *very Arrian.*

„ If you reade Bellarmine touching this
 „ matter, you should find that he is troubled
 „ exceedingly to find any tolerable glosses
 „ for the speeches of the Fathers before
 „ the Councell of Nice which are against
 „ him ; and yet he conceales the strongest
 „ of them : and to counterpoyse them, cites
 „ Authors that haue indeed ancient Names,

E 3

„ but

(N) *That the Father and the Son are aliud & aliud].*

I will give the Reader the very words of Cardinal du (1) Re-
 Perron : *Et pource qui demandera à un Arien (1), ou à plique à la*
 un Eutychien s'il veut se sousmettre au jugement de *Reponse du*
 l'Eglise des siecles precedents celui de Constantin ou de *serenissime*
 Marcian, il n'en fera aucune difficulté, ains pressera luy- *Roy de la*
 mesme que la controuerse se decide par ce peu qui nous reste *Grande*
 d'auteurs de ce temps-là. Car l'Arien trouuera dans *Bretagne,*
 saint Irenée, Tertullian & autres qui nous sont reflex *&c. Livre*
 en petit nombre de ces siecles-là, que le Fils est l'instru- *II. Chap.*
 ment du Pere ; que le Pere a commandé au Fils lors qu'il *V. p. m.*
 a esté question de la creation des choses ; que le Pere & le *729.*
 Fils sont aliud & aliud, choses, que qui tiendrait au-
 iourd'huy que le langage de l'Eglise est plus examiné, seroit
 estimé pour Arien luy-mesme.

„ but such whom he himselfe has stigmatiz'd for spurious or doubtfull in his booke
 „ *de Script. Eccles.*

„ Were I at leysure, and had a little longer
 „ time, I could referre you to some that acknowledge Origen's judgment to be also
 „ against them in this matter. And Fisher
 „ in his Answer to Dr. Whites Nine Questions, has a place almost parallel to that
 „ aboue cited out of Perron (O).

„ In

(O) Fisher in his Answer to Dr. White's nine Questions, has a place almost parallel to that above-cited out of

1) The
 Answer
 unto the
 Nine Points
 of Controversy,
 proposed by our
 late Souveraigne,
 &c.
 pag. 106,
 107.

„ [Perron]. Fisher's words are these: „ (1) If against
 „ every Tradition of the Church difficult and obscure
 „ passages may be brought out of Fathers, and this doth
 „ suffice to make the same questionable, then no Tradition
 „ can be certainly knowne without exact reading, and
 „ examining of the Fathers. But no Tradition, or Doctrine
 „ is so constantly and cleerly delivered by the Fathers, but
 „ diuers obscure and difficult places out of their workes
 „ may be brought agaynst them, with such a shew, that
 „ common people shall not know what to say. For what
 „ Tradition more constantly delivered by the Christian doctors
 „ than our Saviour's consubstantiality with his Father according
 „ to his diuine nature? and yet the New reformed Arrians,
 „ as you may see in *Bellarmin. l. 2. de Christo cap. 10.*
 „ bring uery many testimonies of antient Fathers to
 „ proue that in this point they did contradict themselves,
 „ and were contrary one to another; which places whosoever
 „ shall read, will cleerly see,
 „ that

„ In a word, whosoever shall freely and
 „ impartially consider of this thing, and
 „ how on the other side the Ancient
 „ Fathers weapons against the Arrians, are
 „ in a manner onely places of Scripture,
 „ (and those now for the most part dis-
 „ carded as impertinent and unconcluding,)
 „ and how in the argument drawne from
 „ the authority of the Ancient Fathers, they
 „ are almost alwayes defendants, and scarce
 „ ever opponents; he shall not choose but
 „ confesse, or at least be very inclinable to
 „ beleue, that the Doctrine of Arrius is
 „ cyther a Truth, or at least no damnable
 „ Hæresy.

„ But the Carryer stayes for my Letter,
 „ and I haue now no more time than to adde
 „ that I am, Thy very true and louing
 „ Friend, &c.

The Postscript to this Letter shall
 be set down in the Remarks, with
 E 4 some

„ that to common people they are vnanswerable; yea
 „ that common people are not capable of the answers
 „ that learned men yield unto such obscure passages:
 „ what then shall they do? They must answer, that
 „ antiquity did neuer acknowledge such dissention a-
 „ mongst the Fathers in the point of our Sauours Con-
 „ substantiality, which they would not haue omitted to
 „ do had there byn any such reall dissention, seeing they
 „ noted the Fathers opposition in lesser matters“.

with some Observations upon the Letter (P).

Mr. Chillingworth's integrity and uprightness was equal to his Learning and Freedom.
Being

(P) *The Postscript to this Letter shall be set down in the Remarks, with some Observations upon the Letter*].

That Postscript is as follows :

- (1) St. John, Ch. vii. v. 17. „ See Facundus Hermianensis, *Lib. 10. c. 15.*
(2) Perhaps Mr. Dudley Digges, Author of *The Unlawfulness of Subjects taking up Arms against their Sovereign in what case soever* &c. printed in the year 1644 (and not in 1643 as Mr. Wood hath it) in 4^o. See *Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. c. 16.*
(3) Tessa- radecas Anti-Pistoriana. Hanov. an. 1607. 8^o. „ If you can, send mee Mr. Digges (2) Speech.
„ I prythee goe to Dr. Littleton, and desire him to send mee all that he has of Vorstius. For in the Epistles of his which I borrowed of him he referres mee to some other bookes of his which I shall have especiall occasion to use ; especially his booke against—Pistorius the Jesuit (3) “.
- Now to come to the Letter it self, I have already observed that Mr. Chillingworth writ it to one of his Friends, who, it seems, had desir'd to know what judgment might be made of Arianism from the sense of Antiquity. Mr. Chillingworth tells him who they were that asserted the Opinion of Arius, and with what advantage they did combat their adversaries. From whence he concludes, that *whosoever shall freely and impartially consider of this thing he shall not choose but confesse, or at least be very inclinable to beleue, that the doctrine of Arrius is eyther a Truth, or at least no damnable heresy.* Whereby it appears that in Mr. Chillingworth's judgment, if this Controversy was to be decided by the Authority of the ancient Fathers, Arianism would carry the day. But as he rejected all human Authority in matters

Being perfectly sincere in the opinions he profess'd, no human consideration was capable to make him either prevaricate, or act in opposition to them. He gave in the year

matters of Faith, no body, I think, hath a right to conclude from thence, that he was an Arian (4). However, it is certain that he did not exclude Arians from Salvation; wherein he agreed with several eminent Divines of the Church of England, such as the judicious Mr. Hooker; Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham; Mr. Hales &c. „ It seemeth, says Dr. Potter in his Answer to

„ Mr. Knott (5), to some (q) men of great learning and judgment (*but herein I had rather leave the Reader to his judgment, then interpose mine owne*) that all who profess to love and honour Jesus Christ (though it be in much weakenesse and with many errours, yet) are in the visible Christian Church, and by Catholiques to be reputed Brethren. Or to the same purpose; wheresoever (say they) a company of men do joyntly and publicly profess the substance of Christian Religion, which is, *Faith in Iesus Christ the Sonne of God and Saviour of the world, with submission to his doctrine in minde and will*: there is a Church wherein Salvation may bee had, notwithstanding any corruption of judgment or practice; yea although it be of that nature that it may seeme to fight with the very foundation, and so hainous as that in respect thereof the people stained with this corruption are worthy to be abhorred of all men, and unworthy to be called the Church of God“.

Dr. Potter adds several illustrations and proofs that are brought in by those learned Men, to assert the said

(4) See Rem. (PP).

(5) Want of Charitie justly charged on all such Romanists, as dare (without truth or modesty) affirme, that Protestancie destroyed salvation, &c. 2^d. Edit.

Lond. 1634, pag. 113, 114. (q) Mr. Hooker lib. 3. §. 1. The Morion of the Church.

cap. 1 §. 4. & cap. 7. §. 10.

year 1635, a very convincing proof of it. Some of his friends recommended him to Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, for some Preferment: and his Lord-

position; viz. „ That to beleewe in Iesus Christ the „ Sonne of God and Saviour of the world with submissi- „ on to his doctrine in mind and will, is sufficient to con- „ stitute a Church, wherein Salvation may be had “ : and cites these words of Salvian, Bishop of Marseilles, who speaking of the Arian Goths and Vandals, says :

(6) Salvi-
anus de
Gubernati-
one Dei: ex
recensione
Stephani
Balusii Lib.
V. p. 100.
edit. se-
cundæ, Pa-
ris. 1669.

*Eis traditio (6) magistrorum suorum, & doctrina invete-
rata, quasi lex est; quia hoc sciunt tantummodo quod do-
centur. Hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes. Denique
apud nos sunt hæretici, apud se non sunt. Nam in tan-
tum se catholicos esse judicant ut nos ipsos titulo hæreticæ
appellationis infament. Quod ergo illi nobis sunt, hoc nos
illis. Nos eos injuriam divinæ generationi facere certi
sumus, quod minorem Patre Filium dicant. Illi nos inju-
riosos Patri existimant, quia æquales esse credamus. Ve-
ritas apud nos est; sed illi apud se esse præsumunt. Honor
Dei apud nos est; sed illi hoc arbitrantur honorem divini-
tatis esse quod credunt. Inofficiosi sunt; sed illis hoc est
summum religionis officium. Impii sunt; sed hoc putant
veram esse pietatem. Errant ergo; sed bono animo er-
rant, non odio, sed affectu Dei, honorare se Dominum at-
que amare credentes. Quamvis non habeant rectam fidem,
illi tamen hoc perfectam Dei aestimant caritatem. Qua-
liter pro hoc ipso falsæ opinionis errore in die judicii puni-
niendi sint, nullus potest scire nisi Iudex. Which Dr.*

(7) Ubi su-
pr. pag.
119, 120.

Potter englishes thus (7): „ The tradition of their
„ Teachers, and the doctrine which they have learned,
„ is to them as it were a Law: they beleewe as they
„ have

Lordship, who knew his merit, and was then a benefactor to him, express'd a great readiness to oblige him in that particular. Mr. Chillingworth's circumstances were such, as made

„ have beene instructed. They are Heretiques then, but
 „ not wittingly. Briefly, they are Heretiques in our
 „ judgment, but not in their owne. For they esteeme
 „ themselves so good Catholiques, that they defame
 „ us with the title of Heresie. Such therefore as they
 „ are to us, such are Wee to them. Wee know assuredly
 „ that they are injurious to the Divine Generation
 „ of the Sonne of God, because they say He is inferior
 „ our to his Father: They contrarily think us injurious
 „ to the Father, because wee beleieve the Sonne to
 „ be equall to Him. The truth is on our side, but they
 „ presume it is on theirs. Our opinion truly honours
 „ God, but they suppose their opinion to be more honourable
 „ to Him. They are indeed undutifull to God,
 „ but this they esteeme a great dutie of Religion. They
 „ are impious, but this they think to be true piety.
 „ They erre then, but they erre with a good minde:
 „ not out of any hatred to God, but with affection to
 „ him, thinking to honour hereby and love the Lord.
 „ Although they have not the right Faith, yet they imagine
 „ their opinion to be perfect Charitie towards God.
 „ How they shall bee punished in the last day of judgment
 „ for this error of their false opinion, the Iudge
 „ alone knowes.“

And the ever-memorable Mr. Hales observes, that *Arianism* is but a name of Schism; howsoever in the common Language of the Fathers, it is called Heresy. For Heresy, says he, is an act of the Will, not of Reason;
 and

made the Lord Keeper's resolution most acceptable to him. But he could not be instituted or collated to a Benefice, without having first subscribed to the Articles. And that

and is indeed a Lye, not a Mistake. And he adds, that *he doth not see, why we might not go, if occasion require, to an Arrian Church, so there be no Arianism exprest in*

(8) See the *their Liturgy* (8).

Life of Mr. Hales, p.

33.

I shall perhaps not deviate from the subject of this Remark, if I bring in here a passage out of Mr. Chillingworth's Preface to his Book against Mr. Knott, intituled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation, &c.* That Jesuit having charged the Protestants with *leading Men to Socinianisme*, he observes that he could easily retort that imputation upon the Papists, and shew that *the Doctors of their Church doe the principall and proper worke of the Socinians for them, undermining the Doctrine of the Trinity, by denying it to be supported either by the Scripture, or by the consent of the ancient Doctors.*

(9) Preface „ For *Scripture*, says he, (9) your men deny very
to the Au- „ plainly and frequently, that this Doctrine can be
thor of Cha- „ proved by it. See, if you please this plainly taught,
rity main- „ and urged very earnestly by Cardinall *Hosius, De Au-*
tained. &c; „ thor. *Sac. Scrip. l. 3. p. 53.* By *Gordonius Huntlaus*
§. 17, 18. „ *Contr. Tom. 1. Controv. 1. De verbo Dei, C. 19.* By
„ *Gretserus* and *Tannerus* in *Colloquio Ratisbon.* And
„ also by *Vega, Possevin, Wiekus*, and *Others.*

And then, *pursues he, for the Consent of the Ancients*, that
„ that also delivers it not, by whom are we taught but
„ by Papists only? Who is it that makes known to all
„ the world, that *Ensebins*, that great searcher and de-
„ vourer

that the Reader may better understand what is meant by *subscribing to the Articles*, it will not be improper to observe, that in the Reign of King Edward VI, some Articles

„ vourer of the Christian Libraries, *was an Arrian?* Is
 „ it not your great *Achilles, Cardinall Perron*, in his
 „ 3. Booke, 2 Chap. of his Reply to K. *James?* Who
 „ is it that informs us that *Origen* (who never was
 „ questioned for any error in this matter, in or neere
 „ his time) *denyed the Divinity of the Son and the holy*
 „ *Ghost?* Is it not the same great Cardinall, in his Booke
 „ of the *Eucharist* against *M. du Plessis* l. 2. c. 7?
 „ Who is it that pretends that *Irenæus hath said those*
 „ *things, which he that should now hold, would be esteem-*
 „ *ed an Arrian?* Is it not the same *Perron*, in his Reply
 „ to K. *James*, in the fifth Chap. of his fourth Observa-
 „ tion? And does he not in the same place peach *Ter-*
 „ *tullian* also, and in a manner give him away to the
 „ *Arrians?* And pronounce generally of the *Fathers*
 „ before the Councell of *Nice*, That the *Arrians* would
 „ gladly be tryed by them? And are not your fellow Je-
 „ suits also, even the prime men of your Order, pre-
 „ varicators in this point as well as others? Doth not
 „ your friend *M. Fisher*, or *M. Floyd*, in his booke of
 „ the Nine Questions proposed to him by K. *James*,
 „ speak dangerously to the same purpose, in his discourse
 „ of the resolution of *Faith*, towards the end? Giving
 „ us to understand, That the new Reformed *Arrians*
 „ bring very many Testimonies of the Ancient Fathers to
 „ prove that in this Point they did contradict themselves
 „ and were contrary one to another: which places who-so-
 „ ever shall reade, will cleerly see, that to common people
 „ they

cles of Religion were drawn up and published with this title: *Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned and godly Men, in the last Convocation at London, in the year of our Lord 1552, to root out the discord of Opinions, and establish the Agreement of true Religion. Published by the*

(2) A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c. by Anth. Sparrow, Lond. 1661, p. 37.

(a) See Dr. Bennet's *Essay on the thirty nine Articles*, &c. p. 371.
(b) Hedged on the 6th of July 1553.

Kings Majesties Authority (2). And by an Order of Council, the Bishops and Clergy were requir'd to subscribe them (a). But very soon after, not only whatever related to the security of the Protestant Religion, but even Protestantism it self, seem'd at an end by the Death of that excellent Prince (b); and the accession of Queen Mary to the Crown.

The Reformation being re-establish'd by Queen Elizabeth, the Articles of Religion, set forth by her Brother, were revis'd and alter'd in several places in 1562, by the Clergy in Convocation. They were afterwards presented to the Queen; and submitted to her censure :

„ *they are unanswerable, yea that common people are not*
 „ *capable of the answers that learned Men yeeld unto such*
 „ *obscure passages* (10). And hath not your great Antiquary Petavius, in his Notes upon *Epiphanius in*
 „ *Her. 69.* been very liberall to the Adversaries of the
 „ *Doctrine of the Trinity*, and in a manner giuen them
 „ *for Patrons and Advocates*; first *Justin Martyr*, and
 „ *then almost all the Fathers before the Councell of*
 „ *Nice*, whose Speeches hee sayes, touching this point,
 „ *cum Orthodoxæ fidei regula minime consentiunt.*

(10) See Rem. (O).

censure: and her Majesty having carefully examin'd them, gave them her royal Assent. They were printed under this title: *Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergye, in the convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lord 1562. for the avoyding of Diversities of opinions, and for the stablyshyng of consent touchyng true religion. Put foorth by the Queenes auctoritie* (c).

In the year 1566, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons for the ratification of these Articles. The Commons pass'd the Bill, to which was join'd the English printed Book of Articles: but it had only one reading in the House of Lords; being stopt there by order of the Queen, *perswaded unto it, (as it should seem) by some sinister Counsel* (d).

Another Bill to the same purpose was brought into Parliament in 1571; and having pass'd both Houses, received the royal assent (e). By this Act (f), it is required, that every Person under the Degree of a Bishop, which doth, or shall pretend to be a Priest or Minister of Gods Holy Word and Sacraments shall in the Presence of the Bishop or Guardian of the Spiritualities of some one Diocess, where he hath or shall have Ecclesiastical Living, declare his Assent; and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion,

(c) See Dr. Bennet, *ubi* *supr.* p. 13.

(d) Sir Simon D'Ewes, *Journal of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* &c; p. 184 and 155.

(e) See Rem. (Q).
(f) An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion. 13. Eliz. c. 12.

THE LIFE OF

ligion, which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized in a Book imprinted, entituled, Articles (Q), whereupon it

(Q) *Declare his Assent and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized in a Book imprinted, entituled, ARTICLES, &c].* These words, *which only concern &c,* are a limitation to the Subscription, and shew that the Parliament did not require the *Ministers* of the Church of England to declare *their Assent and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion comprized in the Book imprinted, containing the Articles*; but only to those *Articles which concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments.* For, if an *assent and subscription to all the Articles comprized in that Book,* without any exception, was intended; it must be own'd, either that these words of the Act, *which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments,* are needless and superfluous; or else, that the Parliament was of opinion, that *all the Articles did concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments,* tho' several of them, are neither *Articles of Faith,* nor relate to the *Doctrine of the Sacraments*: as, for instance, the Articles for the Homilies, for Church Government, &c.

(1) See Sir Simon D'Ewes's *Journal of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* &c; p. 157, 166, 184, 185.

And to set this matter in a clearer light, I must observe that there was at that time a division in the Church of England, both among the Clergy and Laity, about matters of Discipline and Ceremonies. The Puritans, that is, such as were for a farther Reformation, desir'd that some Practices that had been retain'd upon political considerations, in order to bring the Papists into the Church, might be abolish'd (1); and these had the majority

it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one Thousand Five hundred

majority in Parliament. Therefore when the Bill to ratify the Articles was brought before them, they did, in regard to those Clergy-men who were of the same opinion with themselves, limit the Subscription to the Articles which concern *the Confession of the true Christian Faith* and the *Doctrine of the Sacraments*, and left a latitude in what relates to Discipline and Ceremonies, as matters indifferent in themselves.

But the restriction is not in the word *Only*, as Mr. Collier (2) and others imagine. It would still subsist, tho' that word were left out. To say, that every Minister *shall declare his assent and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion which... concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized in a Book imprinted, intituled ARTICLES, &c;* evidently limits and determines the *Assent and Subscription* to such Articles in that *Book*, as concern the two heads mention'd, and dispenses with *assenting and subscribing* to the other Articles in the same Book. The word *Only* was added to enforce the limitation, and put it out of all manner of doubt or exception. But, at the same time, that word, with the word *All* just before it, have thrown a sort of uncouthness in that sentence, (such as may be seen in other Acts of Parliament where Clauses are added), which hath furnish'd Dr. Bennet with an Objection against the limitation. For he *thinks* that *the natural and obvious Sense of the Act does directly oppose this Notion* of a Limitation; and uses several arguments to prove it (3): but he hath been

(2) *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, &c.* Vol. II. p. 536. See also Mr. Strype's *Life of Archbishop Wharfe*, p. 394, 395.

(3) *Ubi* *supr.* Chap. xxxii. p. 402, & *seqq.*

hundred sixty and two, according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching

fully answer'd by the Author of the *Historical and Critical Essay on the thirty nine Articles* (4).

(4) Chap.
vii. p. 163,
& seqq.

That the word *Only* was added by the Lords to enforce the restriction, may be conjectur'd from the following passage of Mr. Beal, Clerk of the Council to Queen Elizabeth, in an apologetical Letter writ to the Lord Treasurer Burgleigh, in 1592; wherein he affirms, *That (5) the Statute of XIIIth [of Queen Elizabeth which ratified the Articles] did require a Subscription to the Articles of Faith only: and that he had heard it credibly reported, that it appear'd by the Records, that the limitation was thought meet to be inserted by the Lords in the Higher House, when as the Bill had passed the Lower House in more general Terms.* According to this account, the Bill passed the lower House with a Limitation; but because it was not deemed by the Lords to be sufficiently limited, they made a further Limitation, which we cannot conceive to have been any thing else besides the addition of the word *Only*: and, at the same time, leaving the word, *All*, still in the Bill, as the Commons sent it up, occasion'd the uncouthness before mention'd.

(5) Mr.
Strype's
Life and
Acts of
Archbishop
Whigift,
Book iv.
Chap. 9.
p: 394.
395.

Mr. Beal says that *he had heard it credibly reported, that it appear'd by the Records that the Limitation, (that is, the enforcing limitation), was inserted by the Lords: and indeed it appears by their Journals that they made some Amendments to the Bill; but what these Amendments were, is not mention'd.* Sir Simon D'Ewes

ing true Religion, put forth by the Queens authority: *and shall bring from such Bishop or Guardian of Spiritualities, in writing under his Seal authentick, a testimonial of*

does not take notice of any Amendments made by the Lords to that Bill; tho' he had their Journals before him, and pretends to give us a faithfull account of them. His omissions and inaccuracies have put Dr. Bennet to several Difficulties, and drawn him, as well as the Author of the *Historical and Critical Essay on the thirty nine Articles*, into some mistakes; which it would be too long to set aright here. I will rather chuse to give an Account of what I have found relating to that Bill, in the Journals of the Parliament, and in a Manuscript in the Cotton Library, intituled, *Remembrances of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the 13th yeare of Queen Elizabeth* (6); the same, as I take it, which Sir Simon D'Ewes cites under the name of an *Anonymous Journal*. And, at the same time that I transcribe the Journals of Parliament, and the aforesaid Manuscript, I will also referr to Sir Simon D'Ewes; that the Reader may see when he is defective, and how far he agrees or disagrees with them. But for all the care I have taken to set this matter in a true light, yet, for want of sufficient Records, we are still in the dark as to several material circumstances.

The Parliament of 1571 began on the 2 day of April; and on the 6th, Mr. Strickland, a grave and ancient Man of great Zeal (7), made a Speech for a farther reformation in the Church, and moved that a *Confession of Faith* might be brought in and approved, as had been done by the professors of the Gospel in other Nations: He said that before this time [in the Year 1566]

(6) *Exemplar Rot. Parliam. ab anno 1^o Elisabethe Reg. usq; ad annum 28. Titus F. 1.*

(7) *Remembrances of the Parliament &c, ubi supr. fol. 144. and Sir Simon D'Ewes, p. 156, 157.*

THE LIFE OF

of such assent and subscription, and openly on some Sunday in the time of some publick Service, after noon, in every Church where by reason of any Ecclesiastical Living he ought

an offer thereof was made in Parliament, that it might be approved; but either the slackness, or somewhat else of some men in that time, was the lett thereof, or what else he said, he would not say. He was seconded by Mr. Norton, a man, wise, bold and eloquent. Whereupon the House came to a Resolution, which is thus express'd in the Journals of the House of Commons:

Veneris 6. Aprilis.

Upon a Motion for Uniformity of Religion, and the mention of certain Bills drawn for that purpose the last Parliament, and for redress of sundry defections in those matters, a Committee is by the House appointed of these following, viz. All the privy Council that are of this House, and fifteen more (8), among whom are Mr. Norton and Mr. Strickland.

(8) See
their
names in
Sir Simon
D'Ewes
p. 157.

The next day, these Bills were read and referr'd to Committees; as it appears by the same Journals:

Sabathi 7. Aprilis.

(9) D'
Ewes p.
158.

The Bills (9) concerning Religion were read, and the Bill A. deliuered to the Committees, and the residue read and appointed to remain in the House, and this not to stand for any reading.

By the *Bill A.* is meant the Bill relating to the Articles, intituled, *A Bill for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion*; as it appears by the Journals of the preceding Parliament, in 1566, wherein the first reading of it is described in this manner:

Jovis

ought to attend, read both the said Testimonial,

Jovis 5. Decembris.

A. 1. *The Bill* (10) *with a little Booke printed 1562.* (10) D' Ewes p. 132.
for the sound Christian Religion. A.

The Commons resolved that the first reading of that Bill ought *not to stand for any reading*, because they desired to proceed, in a matter of that consequence, with all possible caution, least they should offend the Queen or the Bishops. Accordingly the same day, they made the following order:

Upon a Motion (11) *by the Committees for matters of Religion, it is order'd that Mr. Grimston and Mr. Strickland may moue the Lords of the Clergy to know their pleasure concerning their Motions to be to them made in matters of Religion.* (11) See D'Ewes p. 159.

On the 10th the *Bill for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion* was brought into the House of Commons, as it is observed by the Author of the Manuscript in the Cotton Library already mention'd:

„ (12) A Bill to provide for the good service of (12) Remembrances, &c. fol. 149.
„ Churches, by fitt Ministers; and therefore first to be
„ enacted, that noe man should be instituted who
„ should not first subscribe to the Articles agreed upon
„ in the Synode 1562, and make publication of the
„ same in his parish Church on paine to be depriued *ipso facto*.
„ Who soe shall maintayne the contrary to be
„ deposed *ad libitum Episcopi*. Noe man to be instituted
„ not of the age of twenty two yeeres. Noe
„ Man to haue Cure excepte he can render an account
„ of his beleefe in Latin, or hath the gift of
„ preaching. All qualifications contrary to this Acte
„ to be void. Noe man to haue a Benefice of 30
„ pounds *per annum* excepte he be a Preacher “.

THE LIFE OF

nial, and the said Articles, upon pain that every such person, which shall not . . . do as is

At the same time, the Bishops prayed that the Commons might have a Conference with the Lords upon that Bill; as may bee seen in the Journals of the House of Commons :

Martis 10. Aprilis.

(13) D' Ewes, p. 160.

Touching matters of Religion (13), Mr. Mounson bringeth report that the Bishops prayed to haue the Lords moued by this House to assigne a Committee to confer with this House. And thereupon it is ordered presently that the same Commission doe immediately goe to the Lords with this Message to know their pleasure for appointing some to conferr about the Booke for Doctrine.

The Journals of the House of Lords mention this Message, and their Lordships resolution upon it, thus:

(14) See D'Ewes, p. 143.

„ (14) This day request being made by the lower
 „ House to have conference and talke with certain of
 „ my Lords, as well spiritual as temporal, such as
 „ should be appointed by this House about a certain Bill
 „ brought in to them touching Matters of Religion,
 „ there were appointed for the said purpose by the con-
 „ sent of the whole House, these Lords hereafter fol-
 „ lowing: The Archbishop of Canterbury; the Mar-
 „ quess of Northampton; the Earls of Oxford, Arun-
 „ del, Worcester, Suffex, Huntington, and Bedford;
 „ the Viscounts Hereford, and Montagu; the Bishops
 „ of London, Hereford, Ely, Sarum, St. David's,
 „ Rochester, Carlisle, Chichester, and Lincoln; the
 „ Lords Cobham, and Graye Wilton.

is above appointed, shall be (ipso facto) deprived, and all his Ecclesiastical Promotions shall

The Lords acquainted the Commons with this Resolution, as it appears by the Journals of the House of Commons:

Sir Richard Reed (15) and Mr. Doctor Tale doe bring (15) D' Answer to the Message, viz. That the Lords haue appointed twenty, whercof ten of the Clergy, and ten of the Temporality, to meet at two of the Clock this afternoon in the Starr Chamber; and thereupon were added by the House to the former Committee, the Master of the Rolls, &c, (16). Ewes p. 160.

Before they went, there was, it seems, some debate in the House; which is obscurely represented in the Cotton Manuscript, as follows:

„ (17) A motion made by Mr. Comptroller to know
 „ the pleasure of the House, whether the Committees
 „ for the Clause of Religion, should conferr with the
 „ Bishops and Lords assigned from the higher House, or
 „ to stand at the direction of the Bishops, it was spoken
 „ vnto by manie. But Mr. Norton was of mynd it
 „ should be called a Suite. Neuertheless to conferr,
 „ and not to stande at the direction of the Bishops further then their consciences should be satisfied. Whereunto Yelverton agreed, perswading that the authoritie might be continued in that House.

The farther proceedings of the Commons concerning that Bill are not mention'd in their Journals, till the 25th; when some of the Members were order'd to attend the Archbishop about it:

Mercurii 25 Aprilis.

Sir Robert Lane (18), Mr. Henry Knowles Sen., Mr. (18) D' Ashley Master of the Jewell House, Sir Henry Gate, Ewes p.

shall be void, as if he then were naturally dead.

The

Mr. Sands, Mr. Wentworth, are appointed to attend my Lord of Canterbury his Grace for answers touching matters of Religion.

(19) D' Ewes p. 239, 240. The purport of that Message is explain'd by Mr. Wentworth, in a Speech he made in the Parliament of 1575: „ I was among others, *says he* (19), the last Parliament sent unto the Bishop of Canterbury for the „ Articles of Religion that then passed this House, he „ asked us why we did put out of the Book [*in consequence, as I conceive, of the aforesaid Clause,*] the Ar- „ ticles for the Homilies, Consecrating of Bishops, „ and such like? Surely, Sir, said I, because we were „ so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to „ examine them how they agreed with the word of „ God: what, said he, surely you mistook the matter, „ you will refer your selves wholly to us therein? No, „ by the Faith I bear to God, said I, we will pass no- „ thing before we understand what it is; for that were „ but to make you Popes; make you Popes who list, „ said I, for we will make you none.

On the first of May the Lords desir'd a Conference with the Commons about that Bill, as it appears by the Journals of the House of Commons:

(20) D' Ewes, p. 180. The Observati- on he makes on that pas- sage is no- thing to the pur- pose. *Mr. Sergeant Barham (20), and Mr. Attorney General do desire from the Lords that a convenient number of this House be sent presently unto their Lordships for Answer touching the Articles of Religion; whereupon my Lord Deputy of Ireland, Mr. Treasurer, and divers others were sent for that purpose, and afterwards returned Answer from the Lords, that the Queens Majesty having been made privy to the said Articles, liketh very well of them, and mindeth*

The Subscription to the Articles being thus become a Law, it was required with severity

mindeth to publish them, and have them executed by the Bishops by direction of her Highness Regal Authority of Supremacy of the Church of England, and not to have the same dealt in by Parliament.

The Queen was not willing that the Parliament should meddle with this affair ; and she hop'd, by that declaration, to put a stop to their proceedings therein. And indeed, at that very time, the Articles were under the consideration of the Convocation, who revised them, and subscribed to them on the 11 day of May ; and they were forthwith publish'd both in English and in Latin, with her Majesty's Ratification at the end. However, the Commons went on with the Bill, passed it, and sent it to the Lords on the third day of May ; as it appears by the Journals of the House of Lords, which give us a very distinct account of the several Readings of it, as follows :

Die Jovis 3. Maij.

Hodie (21) introductæ sunt à Domo Communium duæ (21) D^e Billæ 2. For the Ministers of the Church to be *Ewes, p. 145.*
of sound Religion.

Lunæ 7. Maij.

Hodie, 1^a vice lecta est Billa, for the Ministers of the Church to be sound in Religion.

Jovis 10. Maij.

Hodie 2^a vice lecta est Billa, for the Ministers of the Church to be sound in Religion ; *quæ commissa est Comitibus Huntington & Bedford, Episcopis Hereford & Sarum, & Dominis Gray & Wentworth.*

Die

severity : which occasion'd several persons to separate from the Church, and to set up *Non-conformity* or *Presbyterianism* (R).

But

Die Lunæ 21. Maij.

Hodie 3^a vice lecta est Billa, for Ministers for the Church to be sound of Religion, *quæ conclusa est* with certain Amendments, and sent down to the lower House.

Die Mercurij 23 Maij.

(22) D' *Hodie (22) introductæ sunt à Domo Communium 10. Billæ . . . 9^a* For Ministers of the Church to be sound in Religion.
Ewes, p. 149.

The Journals of the House of Commons take notice of the Lord's sending the Bill back to the Commons, and of the Commons sending all the Bills they had pass'd to the Lords.

Lunæ 21. Maij.

(23) D' *Mr. Dr. Lewis (23) and Mr. Dr. Vaughan brought from the Lords three Bills, one for Pastors to be of sound Religion.*
Ewes p. 186.

Mercurij 23. Maij.

(24) *Idem, All the Bills (24) already passed are sent up to the Lords by Mr. Treasurer and others.*
p. 187.

On the 29th following, the Queen gave her Royal Assent to forty one Acts ; amongst which was the *Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion.*

(1) *The Church History &c. ix Book, Sect. iii. §. 3. p. 102. ad an. 1572.* (R) *The Subscription was required with severity ; which occasion'd several persons to separate from the Church, and to set up Non-Conformity or Presbyterianism].* „ Hitherto, says Dr. Fuller (1), the Bishops „ had been more sparing in pressing, and others more „ daring in denying subscription, because the Canons „ made

But in order to give a full account of what is meant by *subscribing to the Articles*, I must further observe, that soon after the passing of that Act of Parliament, Dr. Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, reduced the Subscription to a Form, which, with some alterations was afterwards inserted into the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall, treated upon by the Bishop of London*

„ made in the *Convocation* 1563 (2), were not for 9 years (2) He
 „ after confirmed by Act of Parliament. But now means the
 „ (1572) the same being ratified by Parliamentall au- Articles of
 „ thority, they began the urging thereof more severely 1562.
 „ then before, which made many *Dissenters* keep their
 „ private meetings in ^a woods, fields, their friends hou-
 „ ses &c.

^a Bp. Cartwrights
 second re-
 ply pag.
 36.

And in the next page, „ The Nonconformists, says
 „ *he* (3), though overpowered for the present in Par-
 „ liament, yet found such favour therein, that after the
 „ dissolution thereof, they presumed to erect a *Pres-* (3) *Ibid.*
 „ *bytery* at ^a *Wandsworth* in *Surrey*. Eleven Elders §. 8. pag.
 „ were chosen therein, and Offices, and general rules, 103.
 „ (by them to be observed) agreed upon and described,
 „ as appears by a bill indorsed with the hand of Mr.
 „ *Field*, the *Lecturer* (as I take it) of that place, but
 „ living in *London*. Mr. *Smith* of *Micham*, and Mr.
 „ *Crane* of *Roughampton*, (neighbouring villages) are
 „ mention'd for their approbation of all passages there-
 „ in. This was the *first-born* of all *Presbyteries* in
 „ England, and *secundum usum Wandsworth*, as much
 „ honoured by some as *secundum usum Sarum* by o-
 „ thers “.

^a Bp. Bancroft Eng-
 lish Scot-
 tizing, 3.
 Book. cap.
 1.

(d) Dr.
Richard
Bancroft.

London (a), President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops, and Cleargy of the sayd Province: And agreed upon with the Kings Majesties Licence in their Synod begun at London, Anno Dom. 1603 And now published [in the year 1604] for the due observation of them, by his Majesties authority under the Great Seale of England.

The xxxvith of those *Canons* hath these words :

(e) *Constitutions and Canons ecclesiasticall &c; according to the edit. printed London 1633 in 4^o.*

„ (e) No person shall hereafter be received into the Ministry, nor eyther by Institution or Collation admitted to any Ecclesiasticall living nor suffered to Preach, to Catechize, or to be a Lecturer, or Reader of Divinity in eyther Vniversities . . . except he shall first subscribe to these three Articles following, in such manner, and sort as we have here appointed,

„ 1. That the Kings Majesty under God, is the only supreme Governour of this Realme, and of all other his Highnesse Dominions, and Countreyes, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall : and that no forraigne Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, have or ought to have any Iurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall,

„ Spirituall, within his Majesties sayd
 „ Realmes, Dominions, and Countreys.

„ 2. That the Booke of Common Prayer,
 „ and of ordering of Bishops, Priests,
 „ and Deacons, containeth in it nothing
 „ contrary to the Word of God, and that
 „ it may lawfully be used, and that he
 „ himselfe will use the forme in the said
 „ booke prescribed in publicque Prayer,
 „ and Administration of the Sacraments,
 „ and none other.

„ 3. That he alloweth the booke of
 „ Articles of Religion agreed upon by the
 „ Archbishops, and Bishops of both Provinces,
 „ and the whole Cleargy in the Convocation
 „ holden at *London* in the yeere
 „ of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred
 „ sixty, and two: and that he acknowledgeth
 „ all, and every the Articles therein (f) See
 „ contained (f), being in number nine, Rem.
 „ and thirty, besides the ratification, to be (Q).
 „ agreeable to the Word of God.

„ To these three Articles whosoever will
 „ subscribe, he shall for the avoyding of all
 „ ambiguities subscribe in this order, and
 „ forme of words, setting downe both his
 „ Christen, and surname, *viz. I N. N.*
 „ *doe willingly, and ex animo, subscribe*
 „ *to these three Articles above mentioned,*
 „ *and to all things that are containned in*
 „ *them.*

Now

THE LIFE OF

Now Mr. Chillingworth considering that he could enjoy no Preferment without subscribing the xxxix ARTICLES, or the xxxvth Canon, whereby he must not only declare *willingly* and *ex animo*, that every one of the *Articles* is agreeable to the Word of God, but also that the *Book of Common Prayer* contain'd nothing contrary to the Word of God; that it might lawfully be used; and that he himself would use it; and conceiving, at the same time, that both in the *Articles*, and in the *Book of Common Prayer*, there were some things repugnant to the Scripture, or that were not lawfull to be used; he fell into the greatest anxiety of mind imaginable.

One of his chief Objections related to the *Symbol* or *Creed* which goes under the name of *Athanasius*. It is now universally acknowledged by the Learned, that it was not compos'd by Athanasius, but by an unknown Author, who liv'd a long time after him; and that it was known and receiv'd but very late (*S*). This Symbol is part of the

(*S*) *This Creed was not compos'd by Athanasius, but by an unknown Author, who liv'd a long time after him &c*]. Tho' it is now generally agreed that Athanasius is not the Author of the Creed which goes under his name, yet the Learned differ very much as to the Author of it, the time when it was compos'd, and when it begun to be receiv'd in the Churches.

the Book of Common Prayer : and in the xxxix Articles (g), it is said, that *Athanasius's Creede* (as well as the *Nicene Creede*, and *that whiche is commonly called the Apostles*

(g) In the viiith Article.

Churches. I shall only give here the Opinion of two or three of them.

Dr. Cave attributes it to Vigilus Tapsensis (1); who flourished about the year 484 (2): and says, that it was first spoken of by Theodulphus Aurelianensis (3), who dyed about 821 (4); that is, 450 years after the death of Athanasius, which happen'd in 371 (5). He adds, that it obtain'd not in the Churches before the year 1000: nor became to be famous every where, till the year 1233 (6). His Words are these (7):

(1) *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia literaria* &c, Lond. 1688, p.

146, 371.

(2) Ibid.

p. 370.

(3) p. 146.

(4) p. 501.

(5) p. 143.

(6) p. 146.

(7) p. 146.

SYMBOLUM ATHANASII ; *genuinum Athanasii opus non esse satis indicat, quòd nec ipse Athanasius, nec sequentium seculorum Scriptor aliquis ante Theodulphum Aurelianensem libro de Spiritu S. p. 72. ejus meminerit, nec in Ecclesiis ante annum millesimum obtinuerit, neque ubique inclarescere cœperit, donec à Gregorii ix. Legatis circa an. 1233. in disputatione Constantinopoli habitâ sub Athanasii nomine testimonii loco prolatum fuerit..... Non malè forsàn à Vigilio Tapsensi constructum, in Græcum Sermone demùm versum, & in Ecclesiarum Archivis diu latitasse, credi potest. Certè, quod Vigilium attinget, conjecturam firmat quod Theodolphus Aurelianensis Symbolum citet ex istis Athanasii libris, qui Vigilii Tapsensis esse jam certo dignoscuntur: quique in antiquo & probe noto Codice Floriacensi cum Vigilii libris adversus Nestorium & Eutychem conjunguntur.* And he reckons it among the Pieces written by Vigilus. *Id Vigilio,* says he (8), *nos non invitâ, ut credimus, veritate, ascribendum censemus.*

(8) p. 371.

Father

Apostles Creede) ought throughlye to be received and beleved: for they may be proved by most certayne warrantes of holy Scripture. Every body knows that it contains an Exposition of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and begins with this comminatory declaration, that

(9) *Dis-
tribe in
Symbolum
Quicum-
que: S.
Athanasii
Oper. Tom.
II. p. 724.
(10) p.
726.
(11) p.
723.
(12) p.
724.
(13) p.
729. 720.
(14) p.
116.
(15) p.
117.*

Father Montfaucon, who put out a very accurate edition of Athanasius's Works, places this Creed among the Writings falsely attributed to that Father; and in a Dissertation upon it, he says, that tho' it does not appear who is the Author of it (9), it is probable it was compos'd in France (10), in Latin (11), about the time of Vincentius Lirinensis (12); and was not taken notice of, or receiv'd, before the year 670 or 673 (13).

Dr. Waterland hath lately publish'd *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, representing the Opinions of Antients and Moderns concerning it*, wherein he gives us an exact account of the different Opinions of learned men on that subject: and after having examin'd the whole matter, conjectures, that this *Creed was, in all Probability, composed in Gaul, sometime between the year 426, and the year 430* (14): that it was *composed by Hilary Bishop of Arles, a celebrated Man of That Time, and of chief Repute in the Gallican Church* (15): and that the *Reception of it*, in the Gallican Churches, was at „ least as early as 670; understanding it of it's Reception into the Publick Offices: But understanding it „ of it's Reception as a *Rule of Faith*, or an orthodox „ and excellent Formulary and System of *Belief*, it „ may be justly set as high as 550, which is but 20 „ years, or thereabout, before *Fortunatus* Commented (16) p. 79. „ upon it (16) “.

that *Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith; which Faith, except every one do keep whole, and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly: and that this Exposition is the Catholick Faith.* It declares again that, *he that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.* And again, says in general of all the Articles it contains, that *this is the Catholick Faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.* These damnatory clauses were highly disapproved by Mr. Chillingworth. He could not apprehend, and much less affirm, that any body should *perish everlastingly*, or be damn'd, for not *believing* that Exposition. He thought, that it was a great presumption in any man, thus to confine God's mercy; and that such a Declaration tended to create animosities and divisions in the Christian Church. In short, he look'd upon it, as *contrary to the word of God*; and therefore could not subscribe that it *may be proved by warrant of holy Scripture.*

His other Objection concern'd the fourth Commandment; *Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day, &c (m):* which by the Answer of the People, or Prayer subjoined to it; *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law;* appear'd to him to be made a part of the Christian

(m) See whole Commandment, in Rem. (T).

THE LIFE OF

Law, and consequently to bind Christians to the observation of the Jewish Sabbath. And this he found contrary, both to the Doctrine of the Gospel, whereby the Jewish Sabbath is abolish'd; and to the sense of the Church of England, concerning that holy Day of the Christians, which is call'd *Sunday* (*T*).

When

(*T*) *The sense of the Church of England, concerning that holy-day of the Christians, which is called Sunday*].

The true notion of that and other *Holy-Days*, and the reasons for appointing them for the service of God, are thus express'd in the Act of Parliament pass'd in the

(1) Acts
pass'd 5 &
6 Edw. VI.
cap. 3.

year 1552. That Act sets forth, that „ (1) as at all
„ times men be not so mindfull to laud and praise God,
„ so ready to resort and hear God's holy Word, and
„ to come to the holy Communion, and other laudable
„ Rites, which are to be observed in every Christian
„ an Congregation, as their bounden duty doth require:
„ therefore to call men to remembrance of their Duty,
„ and to help their infirmity, it hath been wholsomly
„ provided, that there should be some certain times and
„ dayes appointed, wherein the Christians should cease
„ from all other kind of labours, and should apply
„ themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy
„ works, properly pertaining unto true Religion.....
„ and....as these works are both most commonly, and
„ also may well be called God's service, so the times
„ appointed specially for the same, are called *Holy-*
„ *Days*, not for the matter or nature either of the time
„ or day....(for so all days and times considered are....
„ of like holiness) but for the nature and condition of
„ those

When he consider'd that a solemn Declaration, that he believed that to be true, and lawfull, which he judg'd to be false, and unlawfull; and that he would submit to

„ those godly and holy works . . . whereunto such times
 „ and days are sanctified and hollowed; that is to say,
 „ separated from all prophane vses, and dedicated and
 „ appointed, not unto any Saint or Creature, but only
 „ unto God, and his true worship “.

And least any body should imagine, that these *Holy-days* have been determin'd by the Scripture, it is added:
 „ Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain
 „ time or definite number of days prescribed in holy
 „ Scripture, but that the appointment both of the time,
 „ and also of the number of the days is left by the au-
 „ thority of God's word to the liberty of Christ's
 „ Church to be determined and assigned orderly in e-
 „ very Country, by the direction of the Rulers and
 „ Ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedi-
 „ ent to the true setting forth of God's glory, and the
 „ edification of their people “.

And that these judicious reflections do not relate to *Holy-days* or *Saint-days* only, but also to *Sundays* or *Lord-days*; is evident by what follows: „ Be it therefore
 „ enacted that all the days hereafter mention'd,
 „ shall be kept, and commanded to be kept *Holy-days*,
 „ and none other; that is to say, all *Sundays* in the
 „ year, the days of the Feast of the Circumcision of
 „ our Lord Jesus Christ, of the *Epiphany*, of the *Pu-*
 „ *rification* of the blessed Virgin, of Saint *Matthie* the
 „ Apostle, of the Annunciation of the blessed Vir-
 „ gin “, &c. All the other *Holy-days* now kept, are

THE LIFE OF

to such practices, as he never intended to follow; was a solemn prevarication, and forfeiting all pretence to sincerity, honesty, and the favour of God: he fully resolv'd to renounce

here named. By which it appears, that the *Sunday* is no otherwise order'd to be kept *holy-day*, than these other *Holy-days*.

And in order to settle still more clearly the notion people are to have of the *Sunday* and other *Holy-days*, it is further provided and enacted: *that it shall be lawful to every husbandman, labourer, fisherman, and to all and every other person and persons, of what estate, degree or condition he or they be, upon the Holy-days aforesaid, in Harvest, or at any other time in the year when necessity shall require, to labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, at their free wills and pleasure.*

(2) *Injunctions given by the most excellent Prince Edward VI. &c; in the Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c; by Bishop Sparrow,* pag. 9. of the 4th edit. Lond. 1684.
(3) §. 20. *See Sparrow,* pag. 73.

Which perfectly agrees with the *Injunctions* of King Edward VI, publish'd in 1547 (five years before the said Act), wherein it is order'd, that all *Parsons* (2) *Vicars and Curates shall teach and declare unto their Parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of Harvest labour upon the holy and festival days, and save that thing which God hath sent. And if for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that they then should grievously offend and displease God.* These very words Queen Elizabeth inserted in her *Injunctions* publish'd in 1559 (3): save only that after the words *quiet conscience*, these are added, *after their common prayer.*

This shews the sense of the Church of England as to the manner of observing the Christian Sabbath or *Sunday*. But then another difficulty arises as to the Day it self, the *fourth Commandment* being thus: *Remember*

renounce all worldly advantages; and loose for ever all hopes of Preferment, rather than comply with the Subscription requir'd. The very thought of the uneasiness and disturbance of mind, which he should afterwards have felt, if he had subscribed, as he was once going to do, struck him with horror. And when he had determin'd not to comply with the required Subscription, he perceiv'd within himself all the joy and satisfaction of a just, upright man, who acts a part agreeable to the dictates of his Conscience, and acceptable to God. This made him triumph in the resolution he had taken, as for

G 3

a great

member that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days shall thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gate. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it: Mr. Chillingworth conceived that praying to God to *incline our hearts to keep this Law*, imported that the Jewish Sabbath or Saturday is still in force: which he thought neither true, nor lawful to be said, and consequently the Common Prayer Book unlawfull to be used.

This difficulty hath embarrassed our Divines (4). But Mr. Chillingworth, at last, was convinced of the Lawfullness of declaring his Assent and Consent to the use of the *Common Prayer Book*, as we shall see hereafter.

(4) Dr. Heylyn endeavours to solve it, in his *History of the Sabbath*, first printed an. 1631. Chap. II. §. 3.

a great victory over himself, and the most glorious action he ever was capable of performing. Big with these sentiments, he wrote the following Letter *to the right worshipfull and his much honoured friend Dr. Sheldon* (n):

(n) That Letter is dated from Tem, September 21 1635. I had two transcripts of it in my hands; one of which (that hath a Postscript) was communicated to me by my Lord Bishop of Peterborough. I have set down in the margin the various readings of the other transcript. See Rem. (W).

* *to.*

„ Good Dr. Sheldon. I do here send you news, as unto my best friend, of a great and happy victory, which at length with extream difficultie I have scarcely obtained over the onely enimie that can hurt me, that is, my selfe.

„ Sir, so it is, that though I am in debt to your selfe and others of my friends above twenty pounds more than I know how to pay; though I am in want of many conveniences; though in great danger of falling into a chronicall infirmitie of my body; though in another thing, which you perhaps guesse at what it is, but I will not tell you, which would make me more joyfull of preferment then all these (if I could come honestly by * it;) though money comes to me from my father's purse like blood from his veins, or from his heart; though I am very sensible that I have been too long already an unprofitable burden to my Lord, and must not still continue so; though my refusing preferment, may perhaps (which fear, I assure you, does much afflict me) be inju-
riou

„ rious to my friends and intimate acquaint-
 „ ance, and prejudicial to them in the way of
 „ theirs; though conscience of my own
 „ good intention and desire *, suggests un-
 „ to me many flattering hopes of great pos-
 „ sibilitie † of doing God and his Church †
 „ service, if I had that preferment which I
 „ may fairly hope for; though I may just-
 „ ly fear, that by refusing those prefer-
 „ ments which I sought for, I shall gain
 „ the reputation of weaknesse and levity,
 „ and incur their displeasure, whose good
 „ opinion of me, next to God's favour,
 „ and my own good opinion of my selfe,
 „ I do esteem and desire above all things;
 „ though all these and many other *terribi-*
 „ *les visu formæ* have represented them-
 „ selves to my imagination in the most hi-
 „ deous manner that may be; yet I am at
 „ length firmly and unmoveably resolved,
 „ if I can have no preferment without
 „ *Subscription*, that I neither can, nor will
 „ have any.

„ For this resolution I have but one rea-
 „ son against a thousand temptations to the
 „ contrary, but it is ἐν μέγα, against which
 „ if all the little reasons in the world were
 „ put in the ballance, they would be light-
 „ er than vanity. In brief, this it is: as
 „ long as I keep that modest and humble
 „ assurance of God's love and favour which
 „ I now enjoy, and wherein I hope I shall

„ be daily more and more confirmed; so
 „ long, in despite of all the world, I may
 „ and shall and will be happy. But if I
 „ once lose this; though all the world
 „ should conspire to make me happy, I
 „ shall and must be extremely miserable.
 „ Now this inestimable jewel, if I subscribe
 * as makes. „ (without such a Declaration as will make *
 „ the Subscription no Subscription,) I shall
 „ wittingly and willingly and deliberately
 „ throw away. For though I am very well
 „ persuaded of you and my other friends,
 „ who do so with a full persuasion that
 „ you may do it lawfully; yet the case
 „ stands so with me, and I can see no re-
 „ medy but for ever it will do so, that if
 „ I subscribe, I subscribe my own Dam-
 „ nation. For though I do verily believe
 „ the Church of England a true member
 „ of the Church; that she wants nothing
 „ necessary to salvation, and holds nothing
 „ repugnant to it; and had thought that to
 „ think so, had sufficiently qualified me for
 „ a Subscription (V): yet now I plainly
 „ see,

(V) *And had thought that to think so, had sufficiently
 qualified me for a Subscription: yet now &c].* It is a
 matter of debate, whether the Church of England re-
 quires that her xxxix Articles should be subscribed, as
 Articles of Belief and Assent; or only as Articles of
 Peace and Union. „ Some have thought, *says Dr.*
 „ *Burnet.*

„ see, if I will not juggle with my Con-
 „ science, and play with God almighty, I
 „ must forbear.

„ For,

„ *Burnet Bishop of Salisbury* (1), that they are only Ar-
 „ *ticles of Union and Peace*; that they are a Standard
 „ of *Doctrine* not to be contradicted, or disputed; that
 „ the Sons of the Church are only bound to acquiesce
 „ silently in them; and that the Subscription to them
 „ only amounts to a general Compromise upon those
 „ Articles; that so there be no disputing nor wrang-
 „ ling about them. By this means they reckon, that
 „ though a Man should differ in his Opinion from that
 „ which appears to be the clear Sense of any of the
 „ Articles; yet he may with a good Conscience sub-
 „ scribe them, if the Article appears to him, to be of
 „ such a nature, that tho' he thinks it wrong, yet it
 „ seems not to be of that consequence, but that it may
 „ be born with, and not contradicted “.

I. This seems to have been the Opinion of Archbi-
 shop LAUD. In the *Relation of his Conference* with
 Mr. Fisher, he observes; that *it is one thing for a man to*
bold an Opinion privately within himselfe; and another
thing boldly and publickly to affirme it (2): *one thing to*
say, no one of the Articles is superstitious or erroneous;
(as it is provided by the V. Canon); and quite another
to say, Every one of them is fundamental and that in
every part of it, to all mens Beliefe (3). He observes
 further, that the Church of England *is not such a Shrew*
to her Children, as to deny her Blessing, or denounce an
Anathema against them, if some peaceably dissent in some
Particulars remoter from the Foundation (4): that she
 never declared, that every one of her Articles are Fun-

(1) *An Exposition of the thir-ty-nine Ar-ticles of the Church of England: in the In-troduction, pag. 6. of the 3^d edit. Lond. 1705.*

(2) *A Re-lation of the Con-ference, be-tweene Wil-liam Law, then Lord Bishop of St. Davids; now Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbu-ry: and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite &c. The 2^d edit. Lond. 1639.*

pag. 51.
 (3) *Ibid.*
 p. 51, 52.
 (4) p. 50.

damentall

„ For, to say nothing of other things;
 „ which I have so well consider'd as not to
 „ be in state to sign them, and yet not so
 „ well as to declare my self against them ;
 „ two

- (5) p. 51. *damentall in the Faith (5): and that she prescribes only to her own Children, and by those Articles provides but for her owne peaceable Consent in those Doctrines of*
- (6) p. 52. *Truth (6). And this is said in opposition to the Church of Rome, who hath been too particular in Determining too many things, and making them matters of Necessary Beliefe, which had gone for many hundred of years before*
- (7) p. 50. *only for things of Pious Opinions (7): whose Anathe-*
 51. *ma's are for many Poynts as farre remote from the Founda-*
tion; though to the farre greater Rack of mens Consci-
ences, they must be all made Fundamentall, if that
- (8) p. 51. *Church have once determined them (8): and severely*
 (9) p. 52. *imposes her Doctrine upon the whole World under paine*
- (10) See a *of Damnation (9). Which seems to amount to this:*
true Rela- that the Church of England proposes only her Articles
tion of sun- as Articles of Peace and Union, and not as Articles
dry Confer- of Belief and Assent, as the Romish Church does ; and
ences had consequently that she is not *such a Shrew* to her Chil-
between dren, as had been objected by his Adversary (10).
certain Pro-
testant Doc-
trours, and
a Jesuite
called M.
Fisher, &c.
printed in
1626 in
4° pag. 48.
- (11) See
 Rem. (X).
 (12) See
 Rem.
 (DD).
2. Next to Archbishop Laud, we may place Dr. SHELDON, who in the Project of a Letter to Mr. Chillingworth, hereafter to be mentioned, calls the Articles, *general Forms of Peace* (11). Which perfectly agrees with what the Archbishop had said.
3. Mr. CHILLINGWORTH was certainly of the same Opinion, when he wrote the Preface to his Book against Mr. Knott ; as we shall see in another place (12).
4. Dr. BRAMHALL, Archbishop of Ardmagh, is also very expresse that this is the sense of the Church of Eng-
 land

„ two points there are, wherein I am fully
 „ resolved, and therefore care not who knows
 „ my mind. One is, that to say the fourth
 „ Commandment is a Law of God appertain-
 „ ing

land, in requiring Subscription to her Articles. And Dr. Stillingfleet, who cites him, hath stated that matter very clearly in the passage I am going to transcribe. That learned man in his *rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion: being a Vindication of the Lord AB of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference, &c. from the pretended Answer by T. C. &c.* lays down this position (13), that *Nothing ought to be owned as necessary to Salvation by Christian-Societies, but such things, which by the judgment of all those Societies, are antecedently necessary to the Being of the Catholick Church*; and proves it thus: „ For, says he, no reason can be assigned (as I said before) why the Bonds of Union should be extended beyond that which is the *Churches Foundation*; neither can there any reason be given why any thing else should be judged necessary to the *Churches Communion*, but what all those *Churches* (who do not manifestly dissent from the Catholick Church of the first Ages) are agreed in, as necessary to be believed by all; this will be further explained afterwards. Only I add here, when I speak of the necessary conditions of *Ecclesiastical Communion*, I speak of such things which must be owned as *Necessary Articles of Faith*, and not of any other *Agreements* for the *Churches Peace*. I deny not therefore, but that in case of great *Divisions* in the *Christian world*, and any *National Churches reforming it self*, that *Church* may declare its sense of those abuses in *Articles of Religion*, and require of men a

(13) *A rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion, &c.* Lond. 1665. page 54.

„ Subscription

THE LIFE OF

„ing to Christians, is false and unlawfull : the
 „other, that the damning sentences in St.
 „Athanasius's Creed (as we are made to sub-
 „scribe it) are most false, and also in a high
 „degree

„ *Subscription* to them; but then we are to consider,
 „ that there is a great deal of difference between the
 „ owning some Propositions in order to Peace, and the
 „ believing of them as necessary Articles of Faith. And
 „ this is clearly the difference between the *Church* of
 „ *Rome*, and the *Church* of *England*. The *Church* of
 „ *Rome* imposeth new *Articles* of *Faith* to be believed
 „ as *necessary to Salvation*; as appears by the formerly
 „ cited *Bull* of *Pius* 4. which *Articles* contain in
 „ them the Justification of those things which are most
 „ excepted against by other *Churches*; and by her im-
 „ posing these as the conditions of her Communion,
 „ she makes it necessary for other *Churches*, who would
 „ preserve the *Unity* of the *Catholick Church* upon her
 „ true *Foundations*, to forbear her Communion. But
 „ the *Church* of *England* makes no *Articles* of *Faith*,
 „ but such as have the *Testimony* and *Approbation* of
 „ the whole Christian World of all ages, and are ac-
 „ knowledged to be such by *Rome* it self; and in other
 „ things she requires *Subscription* to them, not as *Ar-*
 „ *ticles* of *Faith*, but as *Inferiour Truths*, which she
 „ expects a Submission to, in order to her Peace and
 „ Tranquillity. So the late learned L. *Primate* of
 „ *Ireland*, often expresseth the sense of the *Church* of
 „ *England*, as to her *thirty nine Articles*. Neither doth
 „ the *Church* of *England*, saith he, define any of these
 „ *Questions*, as *necessary to be believed*, either necessitate
 „ *medii*, or necessitate præcepti, which is much less;
 „ but only bindeth her Sons, for Peace sake, not to oppose
 „ them.

Bishop
 Bramhall
 Schism
 Guarded.
 Sect. 7. P.
 396.

„ degree presumptuous and schismaticall. And
 „ therefore I can neither subscribe that these
 „ things are agreeable † to the word of God, † to these
 „ seeing I believe they are certainly repug- things as
 „ nant agreeable.

„ them. And in another place more fully. *We do not* Sect. I.
 „ *suffer any man to reject the thirty nine Articles of the* cap. 11. p.
 „ *Church of England at his pleasure; yet neither do we* 190. V.
 „ *look upon them as Essentials of Saving Faith, or Lega-* Replicati-
 „ *cies of Christ and his Apostles: but in a mean, as pi-* on to the
 „ *ous Opinions fitted for the Preservation of Unity; nei-* Bishop of
 „ *ther do we oblige any Man to believe them, but only* Calcedon.
 „ *not to contradict them.* By which we see, what a P. 264.
 „ vast difference there is between those things, which
 „ are required by the *Church of England*, in order to
 „ Peace; and those which are imposed by the *Church*
 „ of *Rome*, as part of that *Faith, extra quam non est*
 „ *salus*, without belief of which there is no Salvation.
 „ In which she hath as much violated the *Unity* of the
 „ *Catholick Church*, as the *Church of England* by her
 „ *Prudence and Moderation* has studied to preserve it “.

Bishop Bramhall hath several other passages to the same purpose, besides these two mention'd by Dr. STILLINGFLEET; and are as clear and positive. The Reader will find them collected together, with what Archbishop Laud, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Stillingfleet have said on the same subject, in the *rational Account of the Doctrine of Roman-Catholicks concerning the ecclesiastical Guide in Controversies of Religion: reflecting on the later Writings of Protestants; particularly, of Archbishop Lawd, and Dr. Stillingfleet, on this subject.* By R. H. (14) See
 that is, Abraham Woodhead (14). For, the Romish Discourse
 Controversists made it a matter of reproach to those III. Chap.
 eminent Divines, pretending it was a *Novelty*, as Mr. VII. §.
 80. p. 237.
 2^d edit.
 printed in
 1673.

„ nant to it : nor that the whole *Common-
 „ Prayer* is *lawful to be used*, seeing I believe
 „ these parts of it certainly unlawfull ; nor
 „ promise that *I myself will use it*, seeing I
 „ never

(15) See

Rem.

(DD).

(16) These

Principles

are printed

at the end

of Dr.

Stilling-

fleet's *Dis-*

course con-

cerning the

Idolatory

practised in

the Church

of Rome

&c.

(17) Print-

ed at Paris

1671 in

8°.

(18) The

first Part ;

printed

1673 in

8°.

(19) Prin-

ted 1675

in 4°.

(20) *A*

Discourse of

the Necessi-

ty of Church

Guides,

&c; Chap.

V. §. 86.

p. 57.

† P. 6.

Cressy terms it, introduced in the Church of England
 by Mr. Chillingworth (15). Mr. Woodhead says the
 same thing in the *Preface* of his Book against Dr. Stil-
 lingfleet, intituled, *Dr. Stillingfleets Principles* (16,) giv-
 ing an Account of the Faith of Protestants, considered by
 N. O. (17); and proves it by the Doctor's *Rational Ac-*
count of the Grounds of Protestant Religion, and by the
 two foregoing passages of Bishop Bramhall, which he
 cites from that Book. Dr. Stillingfleet answer'd this
 last Treatise of Mr. Woodhead in his „ *Answer to se-*
 „ *veral late Treatises, occasioned by a Book intituled, a*
 „ *Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the*
 „ *Church of Rome, and the Hazard of Salvation in*
 „ *the Communion of it* (18): “. Mr. Woodhead re-
 plied in a *Discourse of the Necessity of Church-Guides,*
for directing Christians in Necessary Faith. With Anno-
tations on Dr. Stillingfleet's Answer to N. O. By R. H.
 (19): and there he says, „ To N. O's pressing here,
 „ that he seems in his *Principles* to discede from the
 „ intentions of the Church of *England*, which in se-
 „ veral passages requires an *Assent* from her Subjects
 „ to the verity of her Articles of Religion, and con-
 „ formity to her Ceremonies which implies *Assent*, I
 „ do not remember he hath said any thing ; yet a Point
 „ that, if it were but for the *Presbyterians* sake who
 „ boggle much at such a submission, needs some clear-
 „ ing “. And in another place: (20) „ The other Con-
 „ siderable in the same *Preface* †, says he, which he
 „ hath passed by and said nothing to, is this: That
 „ Mr

„ never intend either to read these things
 „ which I have now * excepted against, or to
 „ say Amen to them.

* I now
have.

„ I shall

„ Mr. Chillingworth, and, since him, several Di-
 „ vines of the Church of *England* (and among these
 „ Dr. St.) in their denying Superior Councils to have
 „ the just Authority of obliging their Subjects to the
 „ yielding of Assent to their Declarations, are con-
 „ strained also to disclaim such a Submission of *Assent*
 „ to the Articles of Religion, and Book of Common-
 „ Prayer passed in the National Synods of the Church
 „ of England; Yet which submission of Assent this
 „ Church hath formerly challenged in her *Canons*;
 „ &c (21) “. But Doctor Stillingfleet seems to (21) *Ubi*
 have been of another Opinion afterwards, and to *supr.* p. 82.
 have own'd that *the Church of England doth require As-*
sent to the Truth of those Propositions which are contain'd
in the thirty nine Articles (22).

To these great men I might add Archbishop San-
 croft, and several other eminent Divines of the Church of
 England, who thought that her Articles were not Ar-
 ticles of Belief or Assent, but of Peace or Union; and
 consequently might be subscrib'd as such.

As for Mr. Chillingworth, it appears by the Letter
 which is the occasion of this Remark, that he was also
 of that Opinion some time before he wrote it: but that
 when he consider'd the manner and form of Subscrip-
 tion, he chang'd his mind, and thought that he could
 not, with safe conscience, subscribe that some things
 were lawful, which to him appear'd unlawful, or that
 they were agreeable to the Word of God, when he
 conceived they were repugnant to it. *For though I verily*
believe,

(22) See
the passage
cited out
of his *Con-*
ferences by
Dr. Bennet
in his *Es-*
say on the
xxxix Ar-
ticles &c.
Chap.
xxxiv. p.
434, 435.

„ I shall not need to intreat you, not
 „ to be offended with mee for this my most
 „ honest, and (as I verily believe) most wise
 „ Resolution: hoping rather, you will do
 „ your endeavour, that I may neither be
 „ honest at so dear a rate, as the losse of
 „ preferment, nor buy preferment at so
 „ much dearer a rate, the losse of honesty.

„ I think my selfe happy that it pleased
 „ God, when I was resolved to venture upon
 „ on a Subscription without full assurance
 „ of the lawfulnessse of it, to cast in my
 „ way two unexpected impediments to divert
 „ me from accomplishing my resolution.
 „ For I profess unto you, since I entertained
 „ it, I have never enjoyed quiet day nor
 „ night, till now that I have rid my self
 „ of it again; and I plainly perceive, that
 „ if I had swallowed this pill, howsoever
 „ gilded over with glosses and reservations,
 „ and wrapt up in conserves of good intentions
 „ and purposes, yet it
 „ would

believe, says he, the Church of England a true member of the Church; that she wants nothing necessary to Salvation, and holds nothing repugnant to it; and had thought that to think so, had sufficiently qualified me for a Subscription: yet now I plainly see, if I will not juggle with my Conscience, and play with God almighty, I must for-

(23) Rem. bear. For &c. But he did afterwards overcome these (DD). scruples, as we shall see in its proper place (23).

„ would never have agreed nor stay'd with
 „ me, but I would have cast it up again,
 „ and with it whatsoever preferment I
 „ should have gain'd with it as the wages
 „ of unrighteousness; which would have
 „ been a great injury to you, and to my
 „ Lord Keeper: whereas now, *res est inte-*
 „ *gra*; and he will not loose the gift of
 „ any preferment by bestowing it on mee,
 „ nor have any engagement to Mr. An-
 „ drewes for me.

„ But however * this would have suc- ^{* howso-}
 „ ceeded in case I had then subscribed, I ^{ever.}
 „ thank God, I am now so resolved, that
 „ I will never do that while I am living and
 „ in health, which I would not do if I were
 „ dying; and this I am sure I would not
 „ do. I would never do any thing for pre-
 „ ferment, which I would not do but for
 „ preferment: and this, I am sure, I should
 „ not do. I will never † undervalue the hap- ^{† never so.}
 „ piness which Gods love brings to mee
 „ with it, as to put it to the least adven-
 „ venture in the world, for the gaining of
 „ any worldly happinesse. I remember ve-
 „ ry well, *quærite primum regnum Dei, &*
 „ *cætera omnia adjicientur tibi*: and there-
 „ fore whenever ‡ I make such a prepos- ^{‡ unlesso-}
 „ terous choice, I will give you leave to ^{ever.}
 „ think I am out of my wits, or do not
 „ beleeve in God, or at least am so unrea-

H

„ sonable

„ sonable as to do a thing in hope I shall
 „ be sorry for it afterwards, and wish it
 „ undone.

„ It cannot be avoided, but my Lord of
 „ Canterbury must come to know this my
 „ resolution, and, I think, the sooner the
 „ better. Let me entreat you to acquaint
 „ him with it, (if you think it expedient,)
 „ and let me hear from you as soon as pos-
 „ sibly you can. But when you write, I
 „ pray remember, that my foregoing pre-
 „ ferment (in this * state wherein I am) is
 „ grief enough to me; and do not you add
 „ to it, by being angry with mee for doing
 „ that, which I must do or be miserable.
 „ I am your most loveing and true Ser-
 „ vant, &c.

* being in
 this.

To this Letter Mr. Chillingworth added a Postscript, wherein he acquaints his friend, that *so much as he had done* already of his *Defence of Dr. Potter*, he *intended to review and perfect before he proceeded*. But he intimates, at the same time, that he thought it sufficient to answer the first Part of Mr. Knott's Book: and therefore observes, that *if it should be thought fit to publish* his Answer, a *Discourse* might be added to it, shewing that if the first Part was well answered, the second was answered also, by the connexion and dependance it had upon the first. The whole

whole Postscript shall be transcribed in the Remarks (*W*).

I have not, as yet, had the good fortune to meet with Dr. Sheldon's Answer to this Letter of Mr. Chillingworth (*o*). But by a Paper containing the heads or hints of another Answer of his to our Author, it appears that there pass'd several Letters between them on that Subject; some, for

H 2

greater

(*W*) *The whole Postscript shall be transcribed in the Remarks*]. That Postscript is as follows:

„ So much of my defence of Dr. Potter as I have
„ done, I intend to review and perfect before I proceed,
„ and if it shall be thought fit, to publish it, annexing
„ a Discourse to this effect, that if this be answered,
„ all the rest is so; which by the strict dependence
„ of that which follows on that which goes before,
„ I shall be able very easily to demonstrate.

„ Direct your Letters to me at my Fathers house,
„ in Oxford, and it will be sufficient.

„ I am sorry to hear that Mr. Craven continues ill
„ still. I fear he is in more danger than he imagines.
„ Pray, if you can see him, send me word how he
„ does“.

I have acknowledged the favour of My Lord Bishop of Peterborough, in communicating to me this Letter, and that which is printed pag. 7. His Lordship hath subjoyn'd to them the following *Memorandum*:

„ To the Copies of these two Letters to Mr. Gilbert Sheldon, and Dr. Sheldon, Mr. Wharton who procured the Transcripts gave this attestation under his own hand: *Ex autographis Literis penes Danielelem Sheldon Armigerum, Archiepiscopi nepotem.*

THE LIFE OF

(p) See
Rem. (X).

greater secrecy, written in a third person. For, Mr. Chillingworth being intent upon a full inquiry into the sense of the Articles; every new examination afforded him new Scruples. Thus, he objected 1. to the xxth Article importing, that *the Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.* 2. To the xivth Article, that *voluntary works besides over and above Gods commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety, &c*: which seemed to condemn the Doctrine of *Evangelical Counsels*, maintain'd by the Fathers, and by several eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Bishop Andrews, Bishop Morton, Bishop Mountagu, &c (p). 3. To the xxxi Article, that *the offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: and that there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone.* Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits: scrupling, I presume, the generality of the expressions contain'd in the first part of this Article, and disliking the word *blasphemous*, which is the latter part

part of it. 4. To the xiiith Article, that *works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, (or as the School-Authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin*: which appear'd to him to confine God's Grace within too narrow bounds, and to exclude from Salvation the most virtuous among the Pagans, &c. 5. Lastly, he objected to the *Articles* in general, as an Imposition on men's Consciences, much like that Authority which the Church of Rome assumes. At the same time, he complain'd that the Doctor had us'd him with too much severity in his last Answer.

Dr. Sheldon, as we may judge by the aforesaid Paper, excus'd the severity of his Answer, by saying, that *it was in a third person, else he would not have told him what he did*. He added, that he would by no means persuade any body to act against his Conscience; but did not put the title of Conscience upon an humour of contradiction: and that to deal plainly with him, he was afraid it would ruin him here and not advantage him at the last day. Now as to his Objections, 1. against the xxth Article,

THE LIFE OF

he answers, that *if occasion require, the Church hath power to establish Ceremony or Doctrine according to Scripture, but not against the Scripture.* 2. To the xivth Article, he desires him to *consider*, that this Article only *condemns* such *Evangelical Counsels* as *suppose a fulfilling of the Law, and going beyond it, to satisfy and merit for us*, which the Papists call works of Supererogation. And upon these reasons, says he, *I presume did that reverend Prelate Andrews, and that learned Mountague, subscribe, when they publickly taught Evangelical Councils in their writings.* 3. To the xxxi. Article, that it was *framed* against the Popish Doctrine of the Mass, wherein 'tis pretended that the Priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead; *as if another satisfaction for sin: there being no such offering of Christ in the Scripture, where he will find it once offer'd for all.* And that the consequences, which may be drawn from Transubstantiation, amount to little less than Blasphemy. 4. To the xiiith Article, he observes, that *Works done by bare nature are not meritorious de congruo: nature of sin they must have, if sin be in them: and that unless he be a downright Pelagian, he may give it a fair, and safe, and true Interpretation.* 5. To the Objection against Confessions of Faith, or Articles of Religion, he answers, that *the end of these general*
Forms

Forms of Peace, if capable of any construction, lies against the Papists. And he concludes by admonishing him, *not to be too forward, nor possessed with a spirit of contradiction: thus he might*—The sentence is here broke off, but no doubt Dr. Sheldon meant, that if Mr. Chillingworth would lay aside his mistaken scruples and objections; *he might* then comply with the *Subscription* required, and enjoy the advantages of subscribing. The Reader will find this Paper of Dr. Sheldon in the Remarks (X).

H 4

Mr.

(X) *The Reader will find this Paper of Dr. Sheldon in the Remarks*]. I shall give it here, from a copy that was communicated to me.

„ God forbid I should perswade any to do against his
 „ Conscience: be it in itself good or bad, it must be a
 „ sin to lie.

„ It was in a third person, else I would not have told
 „ you what I did.

„ I must deal plainly with you, I am much afraid it
 „ will ruin you here, and not advantage you at the
 „ last day.

„ I put not the title of Conscience upon an Humour
 „ of Contradiction.

„ *Accordinge*] if not against. For 'tis according to
 „ Scripture, that the Church hath power to establish Ce-
 „ remonie or doctrine if occasion require, not against
 „ the Scripture.

„ The end of these general Forms of Peace, if ca-
 „ pable of any construction, lies against the Papists.

„ No

THE LIFE OF

Mr. Knott being inform'd that Mr. Chillingworth was preparing an Answer to his Book against Dr. Potter, could not bear with patience, that the same person, who
was

„ No Evangelical Counsels, as the Papists, such as
„ presuppose a fulfilling of the Law, and going beyond
„ it, to satisfy and merit for us, that's according to
„ Scripture ; in this sense the Article condemns them.
„ Consider it well.

„ No such offering of Christ in the Scripture, where
„ you will find it once offered for all : in that manner
„ they did it against whom the Article was framed :
„ taken with all aggravating Circumstances of corpo-
„ ral presence—as if another satisfaction for sin ;—
„ the Consequences which may be drawn from Tran-
„ substantiation amount to little less than Blas-
„ phemy.

„ Works done by bare nature are not meritorious
„ *de congruo* ; nature of sin they must have if sin be in
„ them, and so it is, for *malum ex qualibet causa*. Un-
„ less a downright Pelagian, you may give it a fayre,
„ and safe, and true Interpretation.

„ Upon these reasons, I presume, did that reverend
„ Prelate Andrews, and that learned Mountague sub-
„ scribe, when they publicly taught *Evangelical Coun-*
„ *cels* in their writings. What you have sent to me
„ in a third person, &c. Be not too forward, nor
„ possessed with a spirit of Contradiction. Thus you
„ may

In the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Mr. Whar-
ton, drawn up by himself, I find that one of the Vo-
lumes (1) contain'd, *A Letter of Dr. Sheldon to Mr.*
Chillingworth, to satisfy his Scruples about subscribing:

„ but

was once accounted a glorious acquisition to their party, should now become a champion for the Protestants. These thoughts did so exasperate him, that he would not wait for the publication of his Book, when he might answer it, if he pleas'd, and leave the Public to judge of both their performances. Such fair impartial dealing, was no ways suitable to his temper. He therefore took a method peculiar to himself. And as it is usual to people that want reasons, to have recourse to calumny; he resolv'd to prejudice the Publick, both against Mr. Chillingworth and his Book, in a vile, infamous Libel, intituled, *A Direction to be observed*

but I can give no account of that Letter, having not seen it.

Dr. Sheldon referring, in the foregoing Paper, to some eminent Divines of the Church of England, who *publickly taught Evangelical Counsels*; it will not, perhaps, be amiss to illustrate that matter by a passage out of Dr. Mountagu's *Appeale to Cæsar*.

„ I doe beleeeve there are, *says he* (2), and ever were,
 „ *Evangelical Counsailes*; such as S. PAUL menti-
 „ oneth in his *Consilium autem do*; such as our SAVI-
 „ OUR pointed at and directed unto in his *Qui potest capere*
 „ *capiat*; such as a man may do or not do, without
 „ guilt of sinne, or breach of Law: but nothing lesse
 „ than such as the *Papists* fabricke up unto themselves
 „ in their *works of Supererogation*. It is an error in
 „ Divinitie, not to put a difference betwixt *such* works,

(2) Apello
 Cæsarem:
 a iust Ap-
 peale from
 two uniuers-
 ities.
 By Richard
 Mountagu.
 Part. II.
 Chap. xv.
 p. 214.
 215. Lond.
 1625, 4°.

„ and

(q) Printed
in 1636,
in 8^o pagg.
42, with
the phraſe
uſual to
ſuch ſorts
of Books,
*Permiſſu
Superiorum.*

(r) I could
never meet
but with
one Copy
of it, in
the *Muſe-
um Aſh-
moleanum*,
for the
peruſal of
which I
am oblig-
ed to Mr.
Whiteſide,
Keeper of
the *Muſe-
um.*

Ad Apol.
TORT.
pa. 196.

*observed by N. N. if hee meane to proceede
in Answering the Booke intituled, Mercy
and Truth, or Charity Maintained by Ca-
tholicks &c (q).*

This Pamphlet is often mention'd by Mr. Chillingworth, and not eaſily to be got (r); I will therefore give here an Extract of it.

The deſign of our Jeſuit being, as I obſerved, to prejudice the Publick againſt Mr. Chillingworth's Answer, he laid upon him the charge of Socinianiſm, as the moſt odious imputation he could find, and the fitteſt for his purpoſe.

„ In

„ and workes done upon *counſell* and advice. If any
„ man, not knowing or not conſidering the ſtate of
„ the queſtion, hath otherwiſe written, or preached, or
„ taught, what is that to me, or the Doctrin of the
„ Church of *England*? His ignorance, or fancie, or
„ miſunderſtanding, or miſappling, is not the Doc-
„ trine of *Antiquity*, which with *universall* conſent
„ held *Evangelicall Counſailes*; nor of our Church, in
„ which our GAMALIEL hath told us; *Quis nescit fieri*
„ *à nobis multa liberè, & quæ à DEO non ſunt imperata*
„ *voveri & reddi*? Theſe Promoters knew it not. B.
„ MORTON in his *Appeale* ſaith (if he doe not ſay true,
„ informe againſt him for it) *that we allow the diſtinc-*
„ *tion of PRECEPTS and COUNCELS, lib. v. cap. iv.*
„ *ſect. 3.* For his ſake excuſe mee from Popery, who
„ write no more than he did before me: *What in GOD's*
„ *indulgence is a matter of Counſell; in regard of ſtriẽt*
„ *juſtice, may come under Precept. Cap. iv. Sect. v.*

„ In regard, *says he (s) by way of Pre-* (s) *A Di-*
 „ *face*, that hee, who pretends to be an- *rection to*
 „ swering the Booke intituled *Mercy and* *be observed*
 „ *Truth*, or *Charity Maintained* by Catho- *by N. N.*
 „ licks &c. is strongly reported to be a *Soc-* *&c. pag.*
 „ *inian*: before I giue him his *Charge*, it *5. 6.*
 „ will be requisite, to open in brief, what
 „ kinde of people they be, who have ap-
 „ peared of late under the name of *Socini-*
 „ *ans*. For by this meanes, it will be seen,
 „ whether his true intention be, to defend
 „ *Protestantisme*, or covertly to vent *Soc-*
 „ *inianisme*. It will also appeare, whe-
 „ ther all his paines be taken to any pur-
 „ pose. For *Charity Maintained* hauing
 „ been written against *Protestants*, not in-
 „ termedling with the Doctrine of *Socini-*
 „ *ans*, he will neuer be thought to speake
 „ one word to the purpose against that
 „ Booke, if he answer out of Principles,
 „ which *Protestants* themselves will pro-
 „ fesse to detest, no less than Catholicks
 „ doe“.

Mr. Knott divided his Pamphlet into five Chapters.

In the I. he gives an account of the O-
 pinions of the *Socinians*; and after having re-
 presented them on the worst side he could,
 „ What Christian, *says he (t)*, can heare (t) pag.
 „ these infidelities without detestation? 13. 14.
 „ What Church can tolerate them? Neuer-
 „ theless, this vngodlie *Seet* spreades it selfe,
 „ being

(u) Mr.
Chilling-
worth.

„ being cunningly obtruded by some (and
„ by the *Answerer* (u) in particular) and
„ greedily swallowed by many, and duly
„ published by none “.

In the II. Chapter he gives *some reasons why so many embrace Socinianisme.*

The first reason he draws *from the Doctrine of Protestants.* „ First then, *says*
(x) p. 16. „ *he* (x), I say that the verie Doctrine of
„ Protestants if it be followed closely, and
„ with coherence to it self, must of neces-
„ sity induce Socinianisme. This I say con-
„ fidently, and evidently proue, by, instanc-
„ ing in one errour, which may well be
„ tearmed the Capitall, and mother Here-
„ sic, from which, all other must follow at
„ ease: I meane, their heresie in affirming,
„ that the perpetually visible Church of
„ Christ, descended by a neuer interrupted
„ succession from our Sauour, to this day,
„ is not infallible in all that it proposeth to
„ be believed, as reuealed truths “.

Thus, according to our Jesuit, whoever denies the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, and is consistant to his principles; must needs be a Socinian. Therefore 'tis no wonder if he brought the same imputation upon Mr. Chillingworth, who was a strenuous assertor of the Doctrine of the Protestants in that *capitall* and *mother Heresie*, as the Jesuit calls it.

His second reason, *why so many Protestants embrace Socinianisme*, is grounded upon the *practice* or *proceeding* of the *Church of England*; in regard „ (y) that (y) p. 18.
 „ their ayme and industrie, tendes only to
 „ procure an exteriour conformitie to the
 „ Lawes of the Realme “.

The third reason, he takes *from the personal qualitie of Protestant Divines* (z) who (z) p. 19.
 neglecting that incomparable study of Scholastical Metaphysicks and Divinity, have no deep and solid Learning; and being but superficial Disputants, find themselves unable to solve the Objections of the Socinians (Y).

The

(Y) *Protestant Divines being but superficial Disputants are unable to solve the Objections of the Socinians*]. I will set down here our Jesuit's own words, for the entertainment of the Reader.

„ The third reason, *says he* (1), taken from the (1) *A Direction to be observed by N. N. &c; pag. 19, 20.*
 „ qualitie of Protestant Divines is this, *Socinians de-*
 „ stroying all *supernaturall* believe, or *infallible* assent,
 „ to any Object, surpassing the reach of Humane Reason,
 „ have as manie, and as strong objections readie
 „ at hand, against the Articles of our Faith, as the
 „ weake vnderstanding of man doth finde difficulties,
 „ in the knowledge of diuine things. Now, the learning
 „ of *Protestant* Divines, consisting onely in some
 „ superficial talent of Preaching, languages, or elocution,
 „ and not in any deep knowledge of *Philosophie*,
 „ especially of *Metaphisicke*, and much lesse of
 „ that most solide, profitable, subtile, and succinct method
 „ thod

The fourth reason, he draws *from some circumstances of persons, time, and place*: that is, from the present transactions of Archbishop Laud, and other eminent Divines of the Church of England, who seem'd to him weary of the Reformation, and making their best way towards the Church of Rome. This he relates with great complacency, and in a lofty, triumphant style.

(a) p. 20,

21, 22,

23, 24,

25.

„ The fourth reason, *says he* (a), that
 „ casts so manie, especially, of the best
 „ wits, upon Socinianisme, both Diuines,
 „ and other among Protestants, is, because
 „ they *will not* be Catholicks *in these times*;
 „ they *cannot* bring their vnderstanding to
 „ be Protestants; and so they take the large
 „ and easie way of belieuing what they list.
 „ And, to speake the truth, what learned
 „ iudicious man, can, after vnpartial exami-
 „ nation, imbrace Protestantisme? which
 „ waxeth euen wearie of it self (and this
 „ is an infallible marke of Sects and He-
 „ resies;

„ thod, which we call *Schoole Diuinitie*; when they
 „ come to be pressed by *Socinians*, are vnable to satisfie
 „ their doubts, but either are caught themselues, as I
 „ know it hapneth not seldome; or giue occasion for
 „ the *Socinians* to be more settled in their errors; and
 „ for others to be drawn into the same infidelitie. And
 „ the Diuel aymed at no lesse then this total ruin of all
 „ Faith and Religion, when he first moued Hereticks
 „ to deride *Schoole Diuinity*, and to nickname the Pro-
 „ fessours thereof, dunses“.

„ resies; for where the Holy Ghost Direct-
 „ eth, there can be no contrarietie, or mu-
 „ tabilitie) its Professors, they especially of
 „ greatest worth, learning, and authoritie,
 „ declare themselves to love temper and
 „ moderation, allowe of manie things which
 „ some yeares agoe were vsually condemn-
 „ ed, as superstitious; and are at this time
 „ more vnresolved where to fasten, then
 „ at the infancie of their Church.....
 „ the *Roman* Church is still the same, with-
 „ out opposition to it selfe in any least
 „ Doctrine, whereas all other Sects, and
 „ Sectaries, are notoriously knowne, to
 „ contradict both their Associates, and them-
 „ selves, as now I was saying of the Pro-
 „ testant Church in *England*. For doe not
 „ their Churches beginne to looke with
 „ another face! their walles to speake a
 „ new language? their Preachers to vse a
 „ sweeter tone? their annual publicke te-
 „ nets, in their Vniversities, to be of an-
 „ other stile, and matter? their bookes to
 „ appeare with titles and arguments, which
 „ once would haue caused a mightie scan-
 „ dall among the Brethren? their Doctrine
 „ to be altered in manie things (Z), and
 „ euen

(Z) *Their Doctrine to be altered in manie things, &c*].

He instances some of these things, in a marginal Note.

For exemple, says he (1), the Pope not Antichrist; (1) p. 23.

Prayer

THE LIFE OF

„ euen in those verie points, for which
 „ their Progenitors forsooke the then visi-
 „ ble Church of Christ? Their 39 *Articles*,
 „ that is, the summe, the Confession, and
 „ almost the Creede of their Faith, are
 „ patient; patient? they are ambitious of
 „ some sense, wherein they may seeme to
 „ be Catholick. To alledge the necessitie
 „ of wife and children in these dayes, is
 „ but a weak plea, for a married Minister,
 „ to compasse a Benefice. Firie *Caluinisme*,
 „ once a darling in *England*, is at last ac-
 „ counted Heresie; yea and little lesse then
 „ Treason. Men, in word and writing,
 „ vse willingly the once fearfull names of
 „ *Priests*, and *Altars*. Nay if one doe
 „ but mutter against the placing of the Al-
 „ tar after the old fashion, for a warning
 „ he shall be well warmed by (b) a *Coale*
 „ *from the Altar*. English Protestants
 „ are now put in (c) minde that for expo-
 „ sition of Scripture, by (d) *Canon* they
 „ are bound to follow the antient Fa-
 „ thers....

(b) A little
 Treatise so
 intituled,
 and print-
 ed An.

1636.

(c) Sun-
 day no
 Sabbath. A
 Sermon
 printed
 An. 1636.

pag. 38.

(d) Lib.

Can. An.

1571.

Can. 19.

*Prayer for the Dead; Limbus Patrum; Pictures; that
 the Church hath authority to determine Controuersies in
 Faith, and to interpret the Scripture; about Freewill, and
 Predestination; Vniuersall Grace; that all our works are
 not sins; merit of good works; inherent Iustice; Faith
 alone doth not iustifie; Charitie is to be preferred before
 Knowledge; Traditions; Commandments possible to be
 kept, &c.*

„ thers (AA). The four prime *Pro-*
 „ *testant Church-Chroniclers*, who pretend
 „ to deduce a succession of the true Church
 „ (the *Centurists*, I meane) are without ce-
 „ remonic

(AA). *English Protestants are now put in mind that they are bound to follow the ancient Fathers, &c.*] The Reader will perhaps be pleas'd to find here Dr. Heylyn's opinion of the foregoing passage of Mr. Knott.

„ If you will, says he (1), take her (*the Church of Eng-* (1) *Cyprianus Ang-*
 „ *land's*) Character from the Pen of a (d) *Jesuit*, you *glicus: or*
 „ shall find him speaking, amongst other falsehoods, *the History*
 „ these undoubted Truths; viz. *That the Professors of of the Life*
 „ it, they especially of greatest Worth, Learning, and *and Death*
 „ Authority love Temper and Moderation; *That the of William*
 „ Doctrines are altered in many things; as for example, *[Laud]*
 „ the Pope not Antichrist, Pictures, Free-will, Predef- *Archbishop*
 „ tination, Universal Grace, Inherent Righteousness, *of Canter-*
 „ the preferring of Charity before Knowledge, the *bury, &c;*
 „ Merit (or Reward rather) of good Works; *Part II.*
 „ Articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also of some *Lib. IV.*
 „ Catholick Sense; *That their Churches begin to look with* *ad. an.*
 „ a new face, their Walls to speak a new Language, and *1633:*
 „ some of their Divines to teach, *That the Church hath* *Lond.*
 „ Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and *1668, P.*
 „ interpreting the Scriptures; *That men in talk and* *252.*
 „ writing use willingly the once fearful names of Priests *(d) Preface*
 „ and Altars, and are now put in mind, *to Charity*
 „ That for Expo- *maintain-*
 „ sition of Scripture they are by Canon bound to follow *ed, sect.*
 „ the Fathers. So far the *Jesuit* may be thought to *20. This*
 „ speak nothing but truth. *reference*
 „ of Dr.
 „ Heylin is
 „ wrong,

As to the *ancient Fathers*, we have seen already what judgment Mr. Chillingworth made of them; and like-

„ remonic demanded in a *particular* occa-
 „ sion : *with what face dare they vente*
 „ *such vntruths ? and with what consci-*
 „ *ence*

wife that he formed that judgment from their own Writ-
 ings (2). Mr. Cressy, however pretends that he was led in-

(2) See
 Rem. (L).

(3) Fana-
 ticism fa-
 natically
 imputed,
 &c. P.

166, 167.

(4) Mr.
 Chilling-
 worth

(thanks to
 Daillé) be-
 came a
 Protestant ;
 says the

same Mr.
 Cressy, in
 his *Epistle*
Apologeti-
cal, &c ;
 p. 80.

(5) Fana-
 ticism, &c ;
 p. 165.

(6) The
 Title of
 that Book
 is, *Traité*
de l'Em-
ploy des
Saincts
Peres &c.

It was
 published
 in 1631.

to it by Mr. Daillé's Book of *the right Use of the Fathers*.
 He says (3), that Mr. Chillingworth, after he *was re-*
turn'd out of Flanders, being doubtfull which Religion
 was the best, the Roman Catholick or the Protestant,
was resolved to spend a year or two in a solitude, and the
Study of Greek and Latin Fathers, fully purposing to em-
brace that Religion which appeared to him most consonant
to what the Fathers generally taught : but that Study was
 presently after interrupted by that *unlucky* Book of Daillé,
 which perswaded him to a light esteem of the Holy Fa-
 thers, upon whose authority he would no longer rely; and
 brought him into the Church of England (4).

How Mr. Daillé's Book happen'd to fall into Mr.
 Chillingworth's hands, he had related before. „ As I

„ remember, says he (5), it was in the year 1638. that

„ I had occasion to accompany a Noble friend in a

„ iourney from Dublin to London. When we were

„ ready to return, I went to a Bookseller's shop to

„ search out some books to be carried back into Ire-

„ land, and among others I bought *Daillé du vray*

„ *usage des Peres* (6), a Book at that time not at all

„ taken notice of. That Book the same night I shewd

„ to my Noble dear Lord Lucius Lord Falkland, who

„ perusing and liking the Contents of it, desired me to

„ give it him, which I willingly did. About a month

„ after my return into Ireland, he sent me a most civill

„ letter, full of thanks both in his own, but especially

„ in

„ *ence dare they (e) forge &c.* their bad car- (e) Sun-
 „ riage towards the ancient Fathers is dis- day no
 „ played; and for a *general* Censure, they pag. 12.
 „ are

„ in *M. Chillingworth's* name for that small present;
 „ telling me that that little *Book* had saved him a most te-
 „ dious labour of reading almost twenty great Volumes.

To this passage of *Mr. Cressy*, the Earl of Clarendon makes the following Answer: „ *Mr. Cressy* well

„ knows, *says his Lordship* (7), that before that time (7) *Ant-*
 „ of his Journey into *Ireland*, in the Year *One thou-* madverfi-
 „ sand six hundred thirty eight, that *Noble Lord* [My cns, &c;
 „ Lord Falkland] had perused, and read over all the ubi supr.
 „ *Greek*, and *Latine Fathers*, and was indefatigable in p. 185.
 „ looking over all Books, which with great expence 186.
 „ he caused to be transmitted to him from all parts, (8) My
 „ and so could not have been long without *Mr. Dailies* Lord Cla-
 „ *Book*, if *Mr. Cressy* presenting it to him, had not rendon
 „ given him opportunity to have raised this scandal up- had cen-
 „ on his memory (8), nor could that Book have been sured Mr.
 „ so grateful to him, if he had not read the *Fa-* Cressy for
 „ *thers*..... and I am very much deceiv'd; which *aspersing*
 „ I think I am not in that particular, if *Mr.* *My Lord*
 „ *Chillingworth's* Book against *Mr. Knott* was not *Falkland*
 „ published before the time of *Mr. Cressy's* Journey in *with the*
 „ thirty eight, into *Ireland*, and I know had been peru- *Character*
 „ sed by him, and therefore *Mr. Dailles* Book could *of a Socini-*
 „ not interrupt him in his study of the *Fathers*. an: but
 „ *Mr. Cressy*, pro-
 „ fests in his
 „ *Epistle A-*
 „ *pologetical*,
 „ p. 81, 82,
 „ 83, that
 „ he never
 „ intended
 „ such a
 „ thing.
 „ (9) See
 „ Rem. (II).

My Lord Clarendon very rightly observes that *Mr. Chillingworth's* Book was published before the time of *Mr. Cressy's* Journey in thirty eight, into *Ireland*: for it came out at the end of the year 1637 (9). And *Mr. Cressy* seems to acknowledge his error in his *Epistle Apologetical* to My Lord Clarendon. For tho' he pro-

(f) Ibid.
p. 10.

„ are told, that *Their credit is eclipsed, and*
 „ *their testimonie abated by their (f) do-*
 „ *ings.* And to conclude all in one maine
 „ point.

(10) pag.
81.

tests (10) in the presence of God, that he hath not wil-
lingly failed in any one material circumstance of this short
story; yet he declares that as to the determining the pre-
cise year, he dares not engage his credit upon an ill me-
mory. Whereby he only means, I suppose, that it is
 certainly true that he bought the Book, and presented
 it to My Lord Falkland, who communicated it to
 Mr. Chillingworth: for as to what he says besides, viz.
 that by the reading of it, Mr. Chillingworth's *Study* of
 the Fathers was *interrupted* &c, (wherein lyes the whole
 stress of his reflection) there appears no manner of
 foundation for it.

(11) Tho.
Smith
B. D.
Fellow of
Christ
Colledge
in Cam-
bridge.
See Rem.
(MM) and
(NN).

(12) Print-
ed at Lon-
don in
1651, in
4°.

(13) My
Lord Falk-
land was
kill'd in
the battle
of New-
bury, 20.
Sept.

1643.

And since I have had occasion to speak of Mr.
 Daillé's Book, it will not be improper to observe here,
 that it was receiv'd in England with a general applause,
 and gave the Author a great reputation; as it appears by
 the following passage out of Mr. Smith's (11) Adver-
 tisement prefix'd to the English Translation of that
 Treatise (12). „ The Translation of this Tract, *says*
 „ *he*, hath been often attempted, and oftner desired by
 „ many *Noble Personages* of this and other Nations:
 „ among others by Sir *Lucius Cary*, late *Lord Viscount*
 „ *Falkland*, who with his dear friend Mr. *Chillingworth*
 „ made very much use of it in all their writings against
 „ the Romanists. But the papers of that learned *No-*
 „ *ble-Man*, wherein this translation was halfe finisht,
 „ were long since involved in the common losse (13).
 „ Those few which have escaped it and the presse, make
 „ a very honourable mention of this Monsieur, whose
 „ acquaintance the said Lord was wont to say was

point. The *Protestant Church in England*, willingly professeth so small Antiquitie, and so weake subsistence in it
 „ felfe,

worth a voyage to *Paris*. Pag. 202. of his Reply (14) he hath these words, *This observation of mine* (14) The Lord Falkland's Discourse of Infallibility, with an Answer to it; and his Lordships Reply. &c. Lond. 1651.
 „ hath been confirmed by consideration of what hath been
 „ so temperately, learnedly, and judiciously written by
 „ Monsieur Daillé, our Protestant-Perron. And what
 „ the same Lord in a treatise, which will shortly be
 „ published faith concerning the Popish Perron, viz.
 „ Him I can scarce ever laudare in one sense, that is,
 „ quote, but I must laudare in the other, that is
 „ praise, who hath helpt the Church to all the advantages
 „ which wit, learning, industry, judgement, and
 „ eloquence could add unto her, is as true of our Protestant.
 „ I shall add but one Lords testimony more,
 „ viz. the Lord George Digbys in his late letters concerning Religion (15) in these words, p. 27, 28. *The* (15) See Rem. (1), n. (6).
 „ reasons prævalent with me——whereon an inquiring
 „ and judicious person should be obliged to relie and acquiesce
 „ are so amply and so learnedly set down by Monsieur Daillé
 „ in his *Employ des Peres* that I think little, which is
 „ materiall or weighty can be said on this subject, that his
 „ rare and pierceing observation hath not anticipated. Were it
 „ needfull to wander to forreigners for testimonies, I could
 „ tell how highly this Author is esteemed by the learned and
 „ famous Doctor Andr. Rivet, upon whose importunity his book
 „ *des Images* and other tracts have been translated: but writing
 „ to Englishmen I will only name the judicious Doctor Jer. Taylor
 „ Libert. of Proph. Sect. 8. n. 4. in these words, I shall
 „ choose such a topick as makes no invasion upon the great
 „ reputation of the Fathers, which I desire should be preserved
 „ sacred as it

„ selfe, that they acknowledge no other
 „ visible being for many Ages, but in the
 „ Church of *Rome* “.

(b) pag. 37. From whence he infers, that Protestants
 are guilty of Schism. „ But, *says he* (b),
 „ I will

„ ought. *For other things let who please read Mr. Daillé*
 „ *du vrai usage des Peres.*

„ *Et si quis cuculo locus inter Oscines,* I must ingenu-
 „ ously profess, *pursues Mr. Smith*, that it was the
 „ reading of this rationall book which first convinced
 „ me that my study in the French Language was not ill
 „ employed, which hath also enabled mee to commend
 „ this to the world, as faithfully translated by a judici-
 „ ous hand, &c.

(16) See
 Mr. le
 Clerc his
Epistola criti-
tica & ec-
clesiastica.
 &c. *Epis-*
tola IV. p.
 96, &c
 seqq. edit.
 Amstel.
 1712.

It is true, that since the Restoration, some of our
 Divines, either out of a superstitious respect for the Fa-
 thers; or mistaking Mr. Daillé's design, (which was to
 shew the impertinence of the Papists, who pretend that
 the Fathers are to be Judges of the Controversies, at
 this day, betwixt us and them) have endeavour'd to de-
 preciate his Book: but notwithstanding their attempts,
 it will ever preserve its reputation among impartial ju-
 dicious persons (16). My Lord Clarendon, who was
 one of the greatest admirers of that performance, hath
 made an excellent Apology for it in his Answer to
 Mr. Cressy. I will transcribe here the whole passage
 to gratifie the Reader:

(17) *Ani-*
madversio-
ns, &c;
 p. 191, &
 seqq.

„ Why may it not become the *Church of England*,
 „ *says he* (17), to use the same expressions which *Car-*
 „ *dinal Cajetan* so long since did in his *Preface* to his
 „ *Commentaries* upon the *Books of Moses*, in his excuse
 „ for having rejected many expositions of the *Fathers*,

„ *Solis*

„ I will not vrge these points here, referring
 „ my selfe, to what hath beene said in
 „ *Charity maintained* and euen to what
 „ will appeare in those very *Motiuēs*, which
 „ induced

„ *Solis sacræ Scripturæ authoribus, reservata autoritas*
 „ *hæc est, ut ideo sic credamus esse quia ipsi sic scripse-*
 „ *runt?* Why may it not become any particular member of
 „ that Church, in a particular point, it may be but in a par-
 „ ticular expression, to differ from a particular Father,
 „ when Petavius, who had as exactly read the Fathers, and
 „ was as great a Master of universal Learning as this Age
 „ hath produced, presumes to say, *Multa sunt à sanc-*
 „ *tissimis Patribus, præsertim à Chrysostomo in homiliis*
 „ *asperfa, quæ si ad exactæ veritatis normam accommo-*
 „ *dare volueris, boni sensus inania videbuntur*, in Epi-
 „ pha. p. 244. These, and very many more of the like
 „ animadversions, and detections by Monsieur Dallie,
 „ anger, & vex Mr. Cressy, and his new Friends (18)
 „ much more than any disrespect he is guilty of to-
 „ wards the Fathers, of which they cannot assign one
 „ instance; all that he says, besides the mentioning
 „ them always with all possible reverence, is no more
 „ than what Mr. Cressy says of them, and of the four
 „ first general Councils, and which indeed was the cause
 „ of Monsieur Dallies writing that Book, that those
 „ Holy men, nor the times in which they lived, knew
 „ any thing, or had heard of any of the points, espe-
 „ cially in controversie between us, and the Church of
 „ Rome, and therefore that it was a vain affectation to
 „ appeal to them for a decision; I do not much won-
 „ der at any thing Mr. Cressy says, upon this argument,
 „ for he owed to himself some extraordinary observa-
 „ tion, to make his tale of presenting that unlucky
 „ Book (as he calls it) of Mr. Dallie, to My Lord Falk-

(18) Mr.
Cressy
was a new
Convert
to Pope-
ry. See
Rem.
(DD).

THE LIFE OF

„ induced the *Answerer* himfelfe to leaue
 „ *Proteftantifme*; and afterward being re-
 „ folued, not to remaine Catholicke, as
 „ not conducing to his temporall ends, hee
 „ finally

„ land, and which he fays *perfwaded Mr. Chillingworth*
 „ to have a light efteem of the *Fathers*; but I cannot
 „ but admire, and grieve, that he hath fo much credit,
 „ with any Member of the *Church of England* how
 „ obfcure foever, as to perfwade him to have the fame
 „ opinion, and thereupon to affume the Licence, and
 „ the rafhnefs to afperfe (as far as his Talent can con-
 „ tribute unto it) the memory of that moft loved, and
 „ moft efteemed *Lord Falkland* (whose name he is not
 „ worthy to pafs through his mouth) with the odious
 „ reproach of being a *Socinian*, and that when no Per-
 „ fon of the *Church of Rome* hath had the courage in
 „ fo many years to attempt the anfwering that Book
 „ *de usu Patrum*, one of the *other Church* should
 „ think it neceffary to take the quarrel upon him, and
 „ without any reason, or any instance of moment, re-
 „ proach Mr. *Dallie* with his light efteem of the *Holy*
 „ *Fathers*, in language not in any degree decent: nor
 „ was the matter, or the manner at all neceffary to the
 „ other part of his Book concerning the *Church of*
 „ *England*; nor can any Man who is difpofed to make
 „ that enquiry, meet with a greater encouragement to
 „ purfue it, than by having read that Book of Mr.
 „ *Dallies*.

My Lord Clarendon cenfures here Mr. Scrivener,
 who publiſh'd in 1672 a ſcurrilous Book againſt Mr.
 Daillé, intituled, *Apologia pro S. Eccleſiæ Patribus ad-*
verſus Jo. Dallæum; wherein among other ground-
 leſs ſtories he hath the confidence to ſay, that Mr.
 Smith

„ finally plunged himself into *Socinianisme*,
 „ seeing full well, that his owne Motiues
 „ could not be answered on the grounds
 „ of Protestants. But it is time, *pursues*
 „ he (c),

Smith above mention'd, had once a design to confute Mr. Daillé's Treatise, but upon better consideration found it was not worth his while to meddle with it (19). If the Reader desires to have the Character of Mr. Scrivener, and of his Book, by a famous Independent, let him read the following passage (20):

E quibus [Hierarchicis] duo recentissima Scriptioe gloriam quæsiuerunt ex magnitudine adversarii, Johannis Dallei; alter in librum de usu Patrum, alter in opus de Epistolis Ignatii, sed impari conatu & successu; namque cum hic qui est Pearsonus, paria cum Dallæo faciat, eruditione, judicio & oratione succo & sanguine plena, tum singulari modestia & candore, (& quem audio nullis procubitibus adorare altare) non alius extat Scrivenero putidior, ineptior & insipidior; qui cum se profiteatur Protestantem, stringit stilum in sententiam Dallei de usu Patrum, quæ non nisi homini qui est Papismo incoctus displiceat; ut nec quisquam malignior in viros sanctos, seu Calvinianos, seu Puritanos, quos proscindit caninâ & spurcâ facundia, quam quidem, ne quid desit triobolari literatori, ornat oratione barbara & incondita, quæ saluatim incedit & per scabra decurrit.

Cæterum, sic ira, iracundia, imo furor cerebrum hominis sua sede moverunt ut non disputet contra, sed sputet in Dallæum, in quem tantò acrius invehitur quod velit eum institutum in schola Calvinii & Bezae, quorum hortationibus, monitis & consiliis ait Puritanos fuisse imbutos & incensos, Ut jam per latus Puritanorum, vulneretur & Dallæus & tota Schola Calviniana.....

Porro

(19) See Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, in the Article of DAILLÉ (John) Rem. (H). (20) Lewis Du Moulin's Patronus bonæ fidei, in causa Puritanorum, contra Hierarchicos Anglor. &c; Londini 1672. Epistola. pag. 63. 64.

(c) p. 28. „ he (c), to returne, and shew, that I
 „ spoke not without ground, in accusing
 „ Socinians in generall, of such vnchristian
 „ doctrines, as you haue heard, since you
 „ will see my word made good in *particu-*
 „ *lar* Tenets of one of them, which at this
 „ fit occasion came to my hands ; and I
 „ willingly impart them to the Reader, as
 „ they were giuen me ; yet so, as in Cha-
 „ ritie I conceale the party taxed with them,
 „ no otherwise than I forbore to publish
 „ the name of the *Answerer*.

Then

(21) *Ibid.* Porro (21), non hic est locus diruendi aut excutiendi fun-
 p. 66, 67. damentum fluxum & chimericum, aut potius cardinem
 stramineum, circa quem vertitur tota scriptio Scriveneri
 in Dallæum, à cujus sententia non longè abit Pearsonus ;
 nempe, iudicium summum controversiarum, neque in sa-
 cra Scriptura, ut vult Dallæus ; nec in Ratione, ut vo-
 lunt Sociniani ; nec in Ecclesia Romana, Papa, Traditi-
 onibus, Conciliis, tum œcumenicis tum topicis, sed in con-
 sensu generali, constanti, & perpetuo Patrum, positum
 esse : quæ quidem consensio, cum ne uni doctore de centum
 millibus sit comperta, nec ei multum fidant Pontificii, qui-
 bus solenne est repudiare Patrum auctoritatem, nec satis
 constet quinam de mille Scriptoribus veteribus & neoteri-
 cis, Patres computandi, planum est illud iudicium con-
 troversiarum secundum Scriveneri Hypotheses tam instabili
 niti arena, quam multitudo muscarum, infidens asseri flus-
 tuanti aquis. Illudque iudicium controversiarum depen-
 dens extra Scripturam sacram ab illa consensione, idem
 esse firmamentum, ac si ex araneæ filo sexcentæ chimeræ
 dependeant, quæ sola venti umbra difflantur.

Then follows the III Chapter, with this title: *Diuerse enormous Heresies, maintained by a certain Socinian, contrary either to the 39. Articles of the Church of England, or to the Faith of all Christians.* The Heresies he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth, whom he calls here downright a Socinian, will be found in the Remarks (BB).

Now

(BB) *The Heresies he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth will be found in the Remarks*]. Our Jesuit recites them as follows:

- „ 1. That the Sonne of God (1) is not begotten, (1) p. 28,
 - „ from euerlasting, of the Father : and is not verie, 29, 30,
 - „ and eternall God, of one Substance with the Father; 31.
 - „ and that two whole and perfect Natures were not
 - „ ioyned in one Person. *Cont. Art. 8.*
 - „ 2. That Christ did not ascend into Heauen, in his
 - „ Bodie, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining
 - „ to the perfection of mans nature. *Cont. Art. 4.*
 - „ 3. That the Holy Ghost doth not proceede from
 - „ the Father, and the Sonne; nor is of one substance
 - „ with the Father, and the Sonne, true and eternall
 - „ God. *Cont. Art. 5.*
 - „ 4. That all the Books of the Old and New Testa-
 - „ ment, as they are commonly receaued, are not equall
 - „ in the authoritie, and infallibilitie of holy Scrip-
 - „ ture. *Cont. Art. 6.*
 - „ 5. That the three Creeds ought not throughly to
 - „ be receaued, and beleueed; for that they may be dis-
 - „ proued by most certain warrants of holy Scripture;
 - „ and that among other falshoods in the Creed of St.
 - „ Athanasius, this is one, that if a Man disbelieve any
- „ part

THE LIFE OF

Now having sufficiently, as he thought, aspersed and blacken'd Mr. Chillingworth, he at last remembers the title and seeming design of his Pamphlet, which was to give him *Directions* how to answer his Book.

(d) p. 32.

„ And thus, *says he (d)*, hauing shewed,
 „ what *Socinianisme* is, and vpon what
 „ ground it goes; I may now oportunely
 „ deliuer the *Answerer* his *direction*, least
 „ he chance to mistake, and in lieu of main-
 „ taining

„ part of that Creed, without doubt, hee shall perish
 „ euerlastingly. That the Apostles Creed, is no cer-
 „ taine and authentick Tradition; and that the Article
 „ of Holy Catholicke Church, is not necessarily to be
 „ believed. *Cont. Art. 8.*

„ 6. That Original Sinne is not the fault and cor-
 „ ruption of nature of euerie man; nor deserues Gods
 „ wrath and damnation. *Cont. Art. 9.*

„ 7. That any man may bee saued by the Law, or
 „ Sects, which he professeth; so that hee bee diligent
 „ to frame his life according to that Law, and the light
 „ of Nature. *Cont. Art. 18.*

„ 8. That the Church hath no authority in Contro-
 „ uersies of Faith, to oblige any man's conscience.
 „ *Cont. Art. 20.*

„ 9. That the Sacraments bee only bages, or to-
 „ kens of Christian mens profession. *Cont. Art. 25. 27.*
 „ And that they bee not necessary to saluation. *Cont.*
 „ *Catechism. Protestant. Anglic.*

„ 10. That the Baptisme of young Children is not
 „ to bee retained in the Church, as most agreable to
 „ the Institution of Christ *Cont. Art. 27.*

„ 11. That

„ taining *Protestancie*, hiddenly plant poi-
 „ son of *Socinianisme*, and leave *Charitie*
 „ *maintained*, not so much as once spoken
 „ to, in the whole *Answer*, as I noted in the
 „ beginning.

Who can now forbear admiring Mr.
 Knott's charity and good-nature? For he
 seems to be under a great concern, lest Mr.
 Chillingworth should not publish a full and
 direct Answer to his Book, which must tend
 to

„ 11. That the offering of Christ upon the crosse, is
 „ not a perfect propitiation and satisfaction for all
 „ the sinnes of the whole world. *Cont. Art. 31.*

„ 12. That the true Body and Blood of Christ is not
 „ in the blessed Sacrament, neither in a Reall nor Spi-
 „ rituall manner ; and that it is only a Signe or Token
 „ of his Body. *Cont. Art. 28.*

„ 13. That Faith containeth no infallible certaintie
 „ of the things beleived.

„ 14. That the reasonable Soule is not immortall,
 „ naturally, and *per se*, but *per accidens* ; as it is added
 „ to some soules, by way of punishment or reward, to
 „ be immortall.

„ 15. That this immortallity of wicked Soules is
 „ not to bee extended, neither to all Eternity; and that
 „ it were uniuert in God, to punish finite offences, with
 „ infinite torments.

„ 16. That no point of Christian Religion is to be
 „ beleived aboue Reason.

„ For an *Epilogue* to these grosse errors, *pursues*
 „ Mr. Knott (2), I could add an *Apologue* of his owne, (2) p. 31.
 „ and

THE LIFE OF

to the disreputation of the Answerer ; or should propagate Socinianism, instead of vindicating the Protestant Religion, which might prove dangerous to the Church of England? But the truth is, he cared for neither of these inconveniences. His *Directions*, no less than every other part of his Pamphlet, are artfully and invidiously design'd to blast Mr. Chillingworth's reputation,

„ and lay in his dish a couple of Frogs. He understands my meaning. (a).

And lest the Reader should entertain some doubt, whether Mr. Chillingworth was the person aim'd at, he hath in the margin the following Note:

(a) *If the Answerer publish his Booke, and yet will not declare his opinion concerning euerie one of these wicked Positions : by omitting to plead not guiltie in that occasion, euerie indicious and zealous Christian will hold him to bee guiltie of them all.*

In the conclusion of that Chapter, our Jesuit damns, without any exception, all persons who do not submit to the pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome.

(3) p. 31, „ Tell mee now, Christian Reader, *says he* (3), what
32. „ manner of man this Socinian is; and what it is to be
„ a Socinian, or Protestant, or any other Sectary, denying the infallibility of Gods Church in all her definitions, concerning matters of Faith? For as I haue
„ said already, whosoever refuses to rely on such Authority, must resolve the truth of his Faith, into the
„ strength of his owne wit, or, to speake more truely,
„ of his Will, which is to take away all infallible, supernatural Faith; *without which* (as the (b) Apostle
(b) Heb. „ avoucheth) *it is impossible to please God*“.

(b) Heb.
c. 11.
v. 6.

tation, and prejudice the Publick against him.

These *Directions* are the subject of the IV. Chapter, which bears this title: *What the Answerer is to obserue, if he will speake to any purpose*: and they run thus:

„ *First*, it will be expected (e), that he (e) P. 33.
 „ declare his owne opinion plainly and 34.
 „ particularly, and not thinke to satisfie
 „ by a mere destructive (a) way of object- (a) Sed
 „ ing such difficulties against Catholicks, as, qua rur-
 „ vpon examination, tend to the ouerthrow sum ratio
 „ of all Religion, no lesse then of Catho- revocabat,
 „ licke Doctrine. ne apud eos
 (Manicha-
 os) penitus
 harerem:
 nisi quod
 ipsos quo-
 que ani-
 madverte-
 bam, plus
 in refellen-
 dis aliis di-
 fertos &
 copiosos esse,
 quam in
 suis proban-
 dis firmos
 & certos
 manere?
 S. Aug. de
 Utilit.
 Credend.
 cap. 1.

„ *Secondly*, that his arguments destroy
 „ not some of his own Tenets.

„ *Thirdly*, that he contradict not D. Pot-
 „ ter, whome he pretends to defende, and
 „ who maintaines the infallibilitie of Gods
 „ Church, in *fundamentall* Articles; the
 „ Supernaturalitie of Faith; and diuers o-
 „ ther points, which I know the Answerer
 „ laughs at.

„ *Fourthly*, that he oppose not the 39
 „ *Articles* of the Church of *England*.

„ *Fiftly*, that his grounds destroy not the
 „ beliefe of the most Blessed Trinity, the
 „ Deitie of our deare Lord and Sauour,
 „ and of the Holy Ghost; Originall Sinne,
 „ and diuers other doctrines, which all good
 „ Christians belieue; yea and all verities,
 „ that cannot be proved by natural Reason.

THE LIFE OF

„ *Sixthly*, that he relie not upon such
 „ Principles, as must bring with them the
 „ deniall of diuers Bookes of holy Scrip-
 „ ture, receaved into the *Canon*, both by
 „ Catholicks and Protestants. And, if he
 „ be asked, whether the Epistle of *Saint*
 „ *James*, the Apocalyps of *Saint Iohn*, with
 „ some other parts of Scripture, now re-
 „ ceaued by English Protestants, though
 „ heretofore controuerted, be Canonically,
 „ let him not still thinke, to satisfie, by say-
 „ ing: *These are captious questions.*

„ *Seauenthly*, that he doe not ouerthrow
 „ the infallibility of all Scripture, both of
 „ the Old and New Testament.

„ *Eighthly*, that his Arguments tend not
 „ to proue an impossibilitie of all Diuine
 „ *Supernaturall infallible Faith* and Religi-
 „ on, that either hath been, or is, or shall
 „ be or possibly can be.

Mr. Knott sets down afterwards some ge-
 neral Rules of reasoning or Logical Max-
 ims, and recommends them to Mr. Chil-
 lingworth, that his Arguments may be satisf-
 (f) p. 35. factory and conclusive. *And if*, says he (f),
 (notwithstanding this Direction to the con-
 trarie) *he will be trenching on the sayd ex-*
cesses, his Booke is already answered, euen
before it appeare. But being sensible that it
 might be concluded from these words, and
 even from his whole Pamphlet, that he look'd
 upon Mr. Chillingworth as a formidable Ad-
 versary,

versary, whom he was loath to encounter; and therefore that he had us'd all possible means to discredit him, and preposses the Publick against his Book; he adds, by way of caution and apology, „ (g) But let (g) p. 36.
 „ him not interpret this my preuention, or
 „ Direction, to proceede from feare, that
 „ his Booke will be vnanswerable, and that
 „ therefore I seeke afore hand to disgrace
 „ the Authour, and forestall the publicati-
 „ on: For by Gods holie assistance, his
 „ Booke shall be answered, and the latent
 „ venome fetcht out, though perhaps he
 „ will lay *wagers to the contrarie*; and
 „ with his much confidence would per-
 „ swade *All Soules* (h) to belieue him. (h) Some
 „ And in truth, *continues he*, what greater allusion to
 „ aduantage could wee wish against Pro- All-Souls
 „ testants, then that they should trust their Colledge.
 „ Cause, and possibilitie to be saued, with
 „ a Champion, who often and even not
 „ very long since, hath professed, that he
 „ will neuer subscribe to their 39. *Arti-*
 „ *cles?* and hath set down in writing, *Mo-*
 „ *tines*, which induced him to forsake *Pro-*
 „ *testantisme* (to which indeed he neuer re-
 „ turned) and which are extant still to be
 „ exhibited, if need be, vnder his owne
 „ hand. But howsoever, I present a copie
 „ of them in next, which shall be the last,
 „ Chapter of my Direction “.

K

Accordingly,

THE LIFE OF

Accordingly, the V. Chapter contains *the Motives, for which*, as Mr. Knott expresses it, *the Answerer forsooke Protestantisme*. These *Motives* shall be transcribed in another place, with Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to them; whereby it will appear how much our Jesuit was mistaken, when he pretended they were unanswerable. This however he affirms with great confidence in the following passage, which is the Conclusion of his Libel.

- (1) p. 40,
41. „ These were, *says he (i)*, the *Answer-
ers Motives*; and they are good ones indeed, and so strong, that he could neuer since frame his minde to Protestancie: and the Profession of Catholicke Religion, not suting with his desires and designs, as I said before, he fell upon *Socinianisme*, that is, a *No Religion*. I will not here ponder the foresaid *Motives*: only I must say, as I noted in the precedent Chapter, that since they all (except perchance the last) chiefly concerne matter of *Fact*, rather then any subtile points of *Doctrine*, he cannot with any probable shew of reason, retract them; and if he should, yet who would not sooner credit his sinceritie, whilst he speakes, against the current of the times, in this place, and contrarie to worldlie hopes, then now, when all human respects concur to sway his words, profession, and
„ carriage,

„ carriage, euen contrary to his inward
 „ thoughts? But in the meane time, it
 „ would be sport, to behold *Doctor Potter*
 „ confuting these *Motives* of the *Answerer*,
 „ while he is pretending to defend *Doctor*
 „ *Potter*. And it may well seeme a strange
 „ and preposterous zeale in the *Answerer*
 „ (if he haue any regard to the Church of
 „ *England*) to haue been so long carelesse
 „ in remouing this scandall against *Prote-*
 „ *stants*, and answering his own *Motives*;
 „ and yet now to shew such seruour in
 „ writing against others: which whether
 „ he doe of his owne accord, or by entrea-
 „ tie of *Doctor Potter*, or from some
 „ *Higher command*, I am neither certaine,
 „ nor sollicitous. My heartie wishes are,
 „ that whosoever shall reade these *Motives*,
 „ may, for the eternall good of his owne
 „ soule, consider them with indifferencie,
 „ and at leasure, and neuer rest from solli-
 „ citing the learnedst *Protestants*, either to
 „ giue him satisfaction (which is impossible
 „ to be donne) or els not take it ill, if he
 „ hasten to the One, alwaies Visible, Ca-
 „ tholicke, Apostolicke, Roman Church;
 „ out of which none can, without pre-
 „ sumption, hope to be faued, &c.

And now the Reader sees what arts were
 us'd by our Jesuit, to raise a general indig-
 nation against, and contempt of Mr. Chil-
 lingworth. But his disingenuity and malice

THE LIFE OF

will appear the more, if we consider Mr. Chillingworth's carriage towards him, before he wrote that Libel; as it is related by Mr. Chillingworth himself, in the Preface to his Book.

(k) *The*
Preface,
8c; §. 4,
5, 6. according to
the 2^d edition
printed in
1638,
which I
shall follow in the
sequel of
this Tract.

„ And in this hope, *says he* (k), [*viz.* that there was nothing in his Book *dissol-
nant from truth or from the authoriz-
ed Doctrine of the Church of England*]

„ I am much confirmed, by your strange car-
riage of your self in this whole business. For
„ though by some crooked and sinister arts,
„ you have got my Answer into your hands,
„ now a yeare since and upwards, as I have
„ been assured by some that *professe to know*
„ it, and those of your owne party; though
„ you could not want every day faire op-
„ portunities of sending to me, and ac-
„ quainting me with any exceptions, which,
„ you conceived, might be justly taken to
„ it, or any part of it, then which nothing
„ could have been more welcome to me,
„ yet hitherto you have not been pleased
„ to acquaint me with any one. Nay more,
„ though you have been at sundry times,
„ and by severall waies entreated and solli-
„ cited, nay pressed and importuned by me,
„ to joyn with me in a private discussion
„ of the Controversie betweene us, before
„ the publication of my Answer, (because
„ I was extremely unwilling to publish any
„ thing which had not passed all manner of
„ tryalls,)

„ tryalls,) as desiring not that I, or my Side,
 „ but that truth might overcome on which
 „ Side soever it was) though I have protest-
 „ ed to you, and set it under my hand,
 „ (which protestation by Gods help I would
 „ have made good) if you, or any other
 „ would undertake your Cause, would give
 „ me a faire meeting, and choose out of
 „ your whole Book any one argument,
 „ whereof you were most confident, and
 „ by which you would be content the rest
 „ should be judged of, and make it appeare
 „ that I had not, or could not answer it,
 „ that I would desist from the Work which
 „ I had undertaken, and answer none at
 „ all; though by all the Arts which possi-
 „ bly I could devise, I have provoked you
 „ to such a tryall, in particular by assuring
 „ you that if you refused it, the World
 „ should be informed of your tergiversati-
 „ on, notwithstanding all this you have
 „ perpetually, and obstinately declined it;
 „ which to my understanding is a very evi-
 „ dent signe that there is not any truth in
 „ your Cause, nor (which is impossible there
 „ should bee) strength in your Arguments,
 „ especially considering what our Saviour
 „ hath told us, *Every one that doth evill*
 „ *hateth the light, neither commeth to the*
 „ *light, lest his deeds should be reproved;*
 „ *but he that doth truth commeth to the*

K 3
„ light

THE LIFE OF

„ *light that his deeds may be made mani-
 „ fest that they are wrought in God.*

„ In the meane while though you de-
 „ spaired of compassing your desire this
 „ honest way, yet you have not omitted to
 „ tempt mee by base and unworthy con-
 „ siderations to desert the Cause which I
 „ had undertaken; letting me understand
 „ from you, by an Acquaintance common
 „ to us both, how that *in case my Work*
 „ *should come to light, my inconstancy in*
 „ *Religion* (so you miscall my constancy in
 „ following that way to heaven which for
 „ the present seemes to me the most proba-
 „ ble) *should be to my great shame painted*
 „ *to the life; that my owne Writings should*
 „ *be produced against my selfe; that I should*
 „ *be urged to answer my owne Motives a-*
 „ *gainst Protestantisme, and that such*
 „ *things should be published to the World*
 „ *touching my beliefe,* (for my Painter I
 „ must expect should have great skill in
 „ perspective) *of the Doctrine of the Trini-*
 „ *ty, the Deity of our Saviour, and all su-*
 „ *pernaturall Verities, as should endanger all*
 „ *my Benefices present or future: that this*
 „ *warning was given me, not out of feare*
 „ *of what I could say* (for that Catholiques
 „ *if they might wish any ill would beg the*
 „ *Publication of my Book, for respects ob-*
 „ *vious enough,) but out of a meer charita-*
 „ *ble*

„ ble desire of my good and reputation : and
 „ that all this was said upon a supposition
 „ that I was answering, or had a minde to
 „ answer Charity maintained ; If not, no
 „ harme was done. To which courteous
 „ premonition as I remember, I desired the
 „ Gentleman, who dealt between us, to re-
 „ turn this answer, or to this effect ; That I
 „ beleevd the Doctrine of the Trinity, the
 „ Deity of our Saviour, and all other super-
 „ naturall Verities revealed in Scripture, as
 „ truly and as heartily as your selfe, or any
 „ man, and therefore herein your *Charity*
 „ was very much *mistaken* ; but much more
 „ and more uncharitably in conceiving me
 „ a man that was to be wrought upon with
 „ these *Terribiles visu formæ*, those carnall
 „ and base fears which you presented to
 „ mee, which were very proper motives
 „ for the Devill and his instruments to tempt
 „ poore spirited men out of the way of
 „ conscience and honesty, but very incon-
 „ gruous, either for Teachers of Truth to
 „ make use of, or for Lovers of Truth (in
 „ which Company I had been long agoe ma-
 „ triculated) to hearken to with any regard.
 „ But if you were indeed desirous that I
 „ should not answer *Charity maintained*,
 „ one way there was, and but one, where-
 „ by you might obtain your desire ; and
 „ that was, by letting mee know when and
 „ where I might attend you, and by a faire
 „ K 4 „ conference,

„ conference, to be written down on both
 „ sides, convincing mine understanding (who
 „ was resolved not to be a *Recusant* if I
 „ were *convicted*,) that any one part of it,
 „ any one Argument in it, which was of
 „ moment and consequence, and whereon
 „ the cause depends, was indeed unanswer-
 „ able. This was the effect of my Answer,
 „ which I am well assured was delivered:
 „ but reply from you I received none but
 „ this, that you would have no conference
 „ with me but in Print; and soone after
 „ finding me of proof against all these bat-
 „ teries, and thereby (I feare) very much
 „ enraged, you tooke up the resolution of
 „ the furious Goddesse in the Poet, madded
 „ with the unsuccessfullnesse of her malice,
 „ *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta mo-*
 „ *vebo!*

„ For certainly those indigne contume-
 „ lies, that masse of portentous and execra-
 „ ble calumnies, wherewith in your Pamph-
 „ let of *Directions to N. N.* you have load-
 „ ed not only my Person in particular, but
 „ all the learned and moderate Divines of
 „ the Church of England, and all Protestants
 „ in generall, nay all wise men of all Reli-
 „ gions but your owne, could not proceed
 „ from any other fountaine“.

Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to Mr. Knott
 was very near finish'd by the beginning of
 the year 1637. Dr. Laud was then Archbi-
 shop

shop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and as he knew Mr. Chillingworth's freedom in delivering his thoughts, he was under some apprehension, that he might indulge it too much in his Book. He therefore recommended the revival of it to Dr. Prideaux, Professor in Divinity (l), and desired it might be publish'd with his Approbation annexed to it; as it appears by the following Letter :

(l) He was made Bishop of Worcester in the year 1641.

„ I had almost forgotten, *says he* (m), a business to you of greater consequence than this, and I cannot tell whether Mr. *Vice-Chancellor* hath acquainted you with it or no; for I writ not unto him very expressly in the business, but now recalling it, I thought fit to write thus much to your self. You know, that Mr. *Chillingworth* is answering of a Book, that much concerns the Church of *England*; and I am very sorry that the young Man hath given cause, why a more watchful eye should be held over him and his Writings. But since it is so, I would willingly desire this favour from you in the Church's Name, that you would be at the Pains to read over this Tract, and see that it be put home in all Points against the Church of *Rome*, as the Cause requires. And I am confident Mr. *Chillingworth* will not be against your altering of any thing that shall be found reasonable.

(m) Remains of Archbishop Laud, Vol. II. p. 128. This Letter is dated, Lambeth March 3. 1636-7.

„ sonable. And to the end that all things
 „ may go on to the Honour of the Church
 „ of *England*, I have desired Dr. *Potter*
 „ (who is particularly concerned in this
 „ business) so soon as ever he is return'd
 „ from *London*, to speak with you about
 „ it. And when all these ~~as~~ Tryals (n) are
 „ over, I would be content, that both this
 „ Book, and all others that shall be hereaf-
 „ ter licensed in the University, have such
 „ an *Imprimatur* of the Licencer before it,
 „ as we use here above, which I shall leave
 „ to the Wisdom of the *Vice-chancellor* and
 „ the *Heads*“.

(n) I suppose he means the Tryals of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne.

To Dr. Prideaux were added Dr. Baylie, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Dr. Fell, Lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity (o); for the examination of Mr. Chillingworth's Book, which was soon after put to the press at Oxford.

(o) He was made Dean of Christ Church in 1638. He died in 1648-9.

Mr. Knott was then lurking about that place; and when he heard that the Answer of Mr. Chillingworth was a printing, he found means to have the sheets from the press, as they were wrought off. The Archbishop having information of this given him by Dr. Potter, sent to Dr. Baylie, the Vice-Chancellor, this Letter (p):

(p) Remains, &c; ubi supr. P. 141, 142. The Letter is dated *Croyden*, Sept. 15. 1637.

„ You cannot have too careful an Eye,
 „ either over *Pullin* or the rest; for cer-
 „ tainly some are about that place to seduce
 „ as many as they can. And particularly
 „ Dr.

„ Dr. *Potter* writes me word, that *Knott*
 „ is now in *Oxford*, (I would you could
 „ lay hold of him) and hath the Sheets
 „ from the *Press*, as they are done ; and
 „ that he pays Five *Shillings* for every Sheet,
 „ and that you are acquainted with this Ru-
 „ mor. I pray be very careful in this also,
 „ for I know the Jesuits are very cunning
 „ at these tricks ; but if you have no more
 „ hold of your *Printers*, than that the *Press*
 „ must lye thus open to their Corruption,
 „ I shall take a Sowrer Course, than per-
 „ haps is expected. For though perhaps
 „ they go so cunningly to Work, as that I
 „ shall not be able to make a legal Proof of
 „ this foul Misdemeanour : Yet if I find
 „ that *Knott* makes a more speedy Answer,
 „ than is otherwise possible, without such
 „ seeing of the Sheets, I shall take that for
 „ Proof enough, and proceed to Discom-
 „ mission your Printer, and suppress his
 „ Press. And I pray fail not to let him
 „ know so much from me“.

The impression of Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to the first Part of Mr. Knott's Book, being near finish'd ; he acquainted Dr. Baylie with the reasons he had, not to answer the second Part. Dr. Baylie desir'd him to give his reasons in writing, which he did ; and they were sent to the Archbishop, who return'd the following Answer to the Vice-Chancellor (*q*) :

(*q*) *Re-*
mains, &c.
pag. 142.
That Let-
ter is dat-
ed, Croy-
den Sept.
22. 1637.

„ I have

THE LIFE OF

„ I have received the Paper of Mr. *Chillingworth's* Reasons, why he is so loath
 „ to meddle with the second Part of *Knott's*
 „ Book, thinking the Answer to the first
 „ sufficient; and truly were all men that
 „ shall come to read his Book of his Suffi-
 „ ciency, I would be of his opinion, espe-
 „ cially supposing, that to be true which
 „ he gives for one of his reasons, namely,
 „ that there is nothing in the Second of
 „ any worth or moment, that is not a re-
 „ petition of somewhat in the First. Up-
 „ on all things laid together, I am some-
 „ what divided in my thoughts, what to re-
 „ solve in this Business; yet thus far I dare
 „ resolve.

„ *First*, I would not have the Answer
 „ delay'd, which Mr. Chillingworth says
 „ he must needs do, and that for some
 „ Months, if he Answer the second Part.
 „ *Secondly*, if he Answer the first only,
 „ I would have him Print at the end of it
 „ those Reasons, which are fit to be pub-
 „ lick why he does not Answer the second
 „ Part, and especially that Reason which
 „ he expresse, namely that the second Part
 „ contains almost nothing, but repetitions
 „ of the former. *Thirdly*, In the Answer
 „ of the first Part, I would quote to a Page
 „ where the same is repeated in the second
 „ Part, that so the World may take notice,
 „ that both Parts are answer'd in one. And

„ *Lastly*, I would have him acquaint Dr.
 „ *Potter* with as much, as may any way be
 „ fit, that so no discontent may arise be-
 „ tween them “.

At last, it was agreed that Mr. Chillingworth in the *Conclusion* of his Work, should give the reasons he had, for not publishing an Answer to the second Part. So the Book came out the latter end of the year 1637 (r), with this title: *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation: Or an Answer to a Booke entitled, Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintain'd by Catholiques, Which pretends to prove the contrary. By William Chillingworth Master of Arts of the University of Oxford.* (r) See Rem. (II).

Mr. Chillingworth presented his Book to the King, in a Dedication that may be accounted one of the best performances of that kind, both for elegancy and wit, and for the modesty, piety, and liberty which runs through it. There speaking of the Cause he vindicates in his Book, he observes that „ to the believe hereof he was not led „ partially or by Chance, as many are, by „ the prejudice and prepossession of their „ Country, Education, and such like inducements; which if they lead to Truth „ in one place, perhaps lead to error in a „ hundred; but having with the greatest „ equality and indifferency, made enquiry „ and search into the grounds on both Sides, „ he

„ he was willing to impart to others, that
 „ satisfaction which was given to him-
 „ self “.

He alledges some reasons for the liberty he takes to dedicate this Work to his Majesty. I shall only transcribe here the first. *For my inscribing to it your Majesties sacred Name, says he, I should labour much in my excuse of it from high presumption, had it not some appearance of Title to your Majesties Patronage and protection, as being a Defence of that Book, which by special order from your Majesty was written some years since, chiefly for the generall good, but peradventure not without some aime at the recovery of One of your meanest Subiects from a dangerous deviation; and so due unto your Majesty, as the fruit of your own High humility and most Royall Charity.* These last words are very remarkable. For they inform us, that Dr. Potter's vindication of the Protestant Religion against Mr. Knott's Book, was *written by special order from his Majesty*; and that this most pious and religious Prince, by giving such an Order, had also *some aime at the recovery of Mr. Chillingworth from the dangerous deviation* he happen'd then to be in.

Next to the Dedication were printed, as the Archbishop had desir'd it, the three Approbations of Dr. Bayly, Dr. Prideaux, and Dr. Fell; who had examin'd Mr. Chilling-

worth's Book with such rigour and severity, as made him say, it had *pass'd a fiery tryall* (CC).

Let us now come to Mr. Chillingworth's *Preface*, which he inscrib'd thus : „ To „ the Author of *Charity maintained*: with „ an Answer to his Pamphlet, entituled *A „ Direction to N. N.* “. He begins it with acknowledging the great expectation Mr. Knott's Book against Dr. Potter, had rais'd in him ; considering it came from a Jesuit, who

(CC) *His Book had passed a fiery tryall*]. „ In this „ Work, says he (1), my conscience beares me wit- (1) *The* „ nesse that I have according to your advice *proceeded* *Preface,* „ *alwayes with this consideration, that I am to give a* &c; §. 4. „ *most strict account of every line, and word that passeth* „ *under my pen* : and therefore have been precisely care- „ full for *the matter* of my Book to defend truth only, „ and only by Truth. And then scrupulously fearefull „ of scandalizing you or any man with *the manner* of „ handling it. From this Rule sure I am, I have not „ willingly swerved in either part of it, and that I „ might not doe it ignorantly, I have not only my selfe „ examined mine owne Worke, perhaps with more „ severity than I have done yours, (as conceiving it a „ base and unchristian thing to goe about to satisfie o- „ thers with what I my selfe am not fully satisfied ;) „ But have also made it passe the fiery tryall of the ex- „ act censures of many understanding Judges, alwaies „ heartily wishing that you your Selfe had been of the „ *Quorum*. But they who did undergoe this burthen „ as they wanted not sufficiency to discover any hete- „ rodoxe

(s) See above, pag. 27, & seqq.
 (t) The Preface to the Author of Charity maintained, &c, §. 2.

who had the assistance of the ablest men of his Order: and assures him that he had prepar'd himself to read it with all possible equity, impartiality and freedom; being fully resolved to embrace once more the Romish Religion, if it should appear therein to have better and surer grounds than the Religion of the Protestants (s). „ Such „ was, *says he* (t), my expectation from you, „ and such my preparation, which I brought „ with me to the reading of your Book. „ Would

„ rodoxe Doctrine, so I am sure they have been very „ carefull to let nothing slip dissonant from truth or „ from the authorized Doctrine of the Church of England: and therefore whatsoever causelesse and groundlesse jealousie, any man may entertaine concerning „ my Person, yet my Booke, I presume, in reason and „ common equity should be free from them; wherein I „ hope that little or nothing hath escaped so many eyes, „ which being weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary will be found too light“.

And in truth, if we consider that the Censors of Mr. Chillingworth's Book were no less distinguish'd by their high Stations in the Church of England, than by their constant zeal for her Doctrine; and that they had a particular charge from the Archbishop, to pass the most strict Censure upon that work; we may reasonably conclude, that if they found any thing in it, either contrary to their Principles, or lyable to the least Misinterpretation, they must have amended it, or struck it out. It could never stand their *fiery tryal*.

And

„ Would you know now, *pursues he* (u), ^{(u) Ibid.}
 „ what the event was, what effect was ^{§. 3.}
 „ wrought in me, by the perusal and con-
 „ sideration of it? To deale truly and in-
 „ genuously with you, I fell somewhat in
 „ my good opinion both of your suffici-
 „ ency and syncerity : but was exceedingly
 „ confirmed in my ill opinion of the cause
 „ maintained by you. I found every where
 „ snares that might entrap, and colours that
 „ might deceive the simple; but nothing
 „ that

And what else can be the intent and purpose of such Examinations, if it is not to prevent Authors from publishing any doctrine contrary to the sense of the establish'd Church or Communion? We ought therefore to conclude that the Approbations given, in so authentick and solemn a manner to Mr. Chillingworth's Book, do clear and vindicate it from any imputation, or even suspicion of heterodoxy, or novelty. And Mr. Chillingworth very justly appeals to them, in answer to Mr. Knott's suggestion, that he would *Answer* his Book against Dr. Potter, *out of Principles, which Protestants themselves would profess to detest*. For he observes, that this *Accusation* is not only *confuted by his whole Book*, but *made ridiculous by the Approbation premis'd unto it* (2). The same he does in other places.

Mr. Knott himself, in a Pamphlet, hereafter to be mentioned, affirms, that so many *alterations* were made by the Censors in Mr. Chillingworth's Manuscript, that his Book is now *quite another thing* from what it was first drawn up by the Author. But for all that, he boldly repeated his former Accusations. And in the

(2) *The Preface &c.*
 §. 30.

„ that might perswade, and very little that
 „ might move an understanding man, and
 „ one that can discerne between Discourse
 „ and Sophistry. In short, I was verily per-
 „ swaded that I plainly saw and could make
 „ it appeare, to all dis-passionate and un-
 „ prejudicate Judges, that a vein of sophis-
 „ try and calumny, did run cleane through
 „ it from the beginning to the end. And
 „ letting some Friends understand so much,
 „ I suffered my selfe to be perswaded by
 „ them,

very passage wherein he magnifies the alterations made in Mr. Chillingworth's Book, he is not asham'd to charge it with Socinian Principles. *Nor could, says he (3), the many Corrections endeauoured by the Approouers of his Booke, blot out his errours, though in respect of the alterations which haue been by report made in it by them, it is quite another thing from the first platforme which he drew, and put into their hands.*

(3) *Chri-
stianity
maintain-
ed, &c.
p. 79.*

(4) *Athe-
ne Oxon.
ubi supr.
Vol. II. c.
22.*

(g) *Franc.
Cheynell
in his
book en-
tit. A Dis-
cussion of
Mr. Joh.
Fry's re-
nents lately
condemned
in Parliam.
&c, p. 33.*

Certainly our Jesuit must have been very confident of the implicit faith of his Readers, to persist in charging with *Socinianism*, a Book, which he pretends had been cast into a new mold by the Censors!

Indeed Mr. Wood tells us, after Mr. Cheynell, that Dr. Prideaux, one of the Approbators of Mr. Chillingworth's Book, did give it a very odious character in private conversation. „ Before the said *Religion of Protestants*, &c. went to the press, says Mr. Wood (4), „ it was, at the desire of Dr. Laud, corrected and amended by Dr. John Prideaux, who afterwards, among his friends, would liken (g) it to an unwholesome Lamprey, by having a poisonous sting of Socinianism

„ them, that it would not be either unpro-
 „ per for me, nor un-acceptable to God,
 „ nor peradventure altogether unserviceable
 „ to his Church, nor justly offensive to
 „ you (if you indeed were a lover of Truth
 „ and not a maintainer of a Faction,) if
 „ setting aside the Second Part, which was
 „ in a manner wholly employed in par-
 „ ticular disputes, repetitions and referen-
 „ ces, and in wranglings with D. *Potter*
 „ about the sense of some supernumerary
 L 2 „ quotations,

„ *ism throughout it, and tending in some places to plain*
 „ *infidelity and atheisme.*

But, 1. Dr. Prideaux was not the only person, who corrected and amended Mr. Chillingworth's Book ; Dr. Bayly, and Dr. Fell, did the same : as we have seen already, and as Mr. Wood might see in the beginning of that Work. 2. Dr. Prideaux's Approbation runs thus : *Perlegi hunc Librum in quo nihil reperio Doctrinæ vel Disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversum, sed quamplurima quæ Fidem Orthodoxam egregiè illustrant, & adversantia glossæmata acutè, perspicuè, & modestè dissipant.* Now is it probable that he would warrant, in so express and publick a manner, the Orthodoxy of Mr. Chillingworth's performance, and represent it afterwards, among his Friends, as having a poysonous sting of Socinianism throughout it, and even tending in some places to plain infidelity and atheism ? And it might be wondered, that Mr. Wood should recite it out of Mr. Chyennell, without shewing the ridicule of it ; did we not know how fond he was of defamatory reports, when they

„ quotations, and whereon the main que-
 „ stion no way depends, I would make a
 „ faire and ingenuous Answer to the First,
 „ wherein the substance of the present
 „ Controversie is confessedly contained;
 „ and which, if it were clearly answered,
 „ no man would desire any other answer
 „ to the Second. This therefore I under-
 „ tooke with a full resolution to be an ad-
 „ versary to your errors, but a Friend and
 „ servant to your Person: and so much the
 „ more a friend to your person, by how much
 „ the severer and more rigid adversary I was
 „ to your errors. He

they concern'd any adversaries to Popery, especially such great men as Mr. Chillingworth.

(5) *The*
History of
the Wor-
shies of
England
 &c. p.
 339, 340.

Dr. Fuller takes notice of the same story, but as a
 judicious and impartial Writer. After having observed
 that Mr. Chillingworth „ (5) in testimony of his
 „ true conversion wrote a book entituled, *The Religion*
 „ *of Protestants a safe way to salvation*, against Mr.
 „ Knott the Jesuit: I will not say, *pursues he, malo*
 „ *nodo malus quærendus est cuneus*, but affirm no person
 „ better qualified than this Author, with all necessary
 „ accomplishments to encounter a Jesuit “. Then he
 „ adds, „ It is commonly reported that Dr. *Prideaux*
 „ compared his Book to a *Lamprey*, fit for food if the
 „ venomous string were taken out of the back thereof:
 „ a passage in my opinion inconsistent with the Doctors
 „ approbation prefixed in the beginning of his book “. We see that he expresses Dr. Prideaux's pretended saying, in a very different manner from Mr. Cheynell; as it is common for such hear-says, or town-talk, to be variously

He expreffes afterwards what care and diligence he had employ'd to make his Answer unexceptionable; how earnestly he desir'd, before the printing of it, to confer with Mr. Knott, and hear what he could offer in vindication of any one Argument in his Book: and complains that instead of agreeing with this fair and reasonable proposal, he had us'd base and oblique means in order to deterr him from publishing his Answer (x).

(x) See above, pag. 132, & seqq.

Then he proceeds to vindicate, first, the Protestants in general; secondly, the Divines of the Church of England; and lastly, himself, from the calumnies and foul aspersions cast upon them in the Jesuit's Pamphlet.

To his Objection against the Learning of the Divines of the Church of England, Mr. Chillingworth answers thus: „ (y) Their „ learning (you say) consists only in *some* „ *superficial talent of preaching, languages,* „ *and elocution, and not in any deep know-* „ *ledge of Philosophy, especially of Meta-*
L 3 „ *physicks,*

(y) The Preface, &c; §. 19.

variously reported. It may likewise be observed, that the Pamphlet where Mr. Cheynell brings in that saying, was printed about the year 1650 (6): but I do not find (6) Wood, it mention'd in two other Pamphlets, which he wrote *ubi supr. c. ex professo*, and in a violent strain, against Mr. Chillingworth in 1642 and 1644, as we shall see in another place; this story being not, I suppose, come to his hearing at that time. 246.

„ *physicks, and much lesse of that most so-*
 „ *lid, profitable, subtile, and (O rem ridi-*
 „ *culam Cato & jocosam !)* *succinct method*
 „ *of School-Divinity.* Wherein you have
 „ discovered in your self the true Genius
 „ and spirit of detraction. For taking ad-
 „ vantage from that wherein envy it selfe
 „ cannot deny but they are very eminent,
 „ and which requires great sufficiency of
 „ substantiall learning, you disparage them
 „ as insufficient in all things else. As if
 „ forsooth, because they dispute not eter-
 „ nally, *Vtrum Chimæra bombinans in va-*
 „ *cuo, possit comedere secundas intentiones ?*
 „ *Whether a Million of Angels may not sit*
 „ *upon a needles point ?* Because they fill not
 „ their brains with notions that signifie no-
 „ thing, to the utter extermination of all
 „ reason and common sense, and spend
 „ not an Age in weaving and unweaving
 „ subtile cobwebs, fitter to catch flies
 „ than Souls; therefore they have no deepe
 „ knowledge in the Acroamaticall part of
 „ learning! But I have too much honoured
 „ the poornesse of this detraction to take
 „ notice of it.

As to the foul aspersions cast upon Mr.
 Chillingworth himself, „ Your injuries to
 „ to me, *says he* (z), (no way deserved by
 „ me, but by differing in opinion from
 „ you, wherein yet you surely differ from
 „ me as much as I from you,) are especi-

(z) *Ibid.*
 §. 28.

„ ally three. For *first*, upon hearefay, and
 „ refusing to give me opportunitie of be-
 „ getting in you a better understanding of
 „ me, you charge me with a great number
 „ of false and impious doctrines (a), which I ^{(a) See}
 „ will not name in particular, because I ^{Rem.}
 „ will not assist you so far in the spread- ^{(BB),}
 „ ing of my own undeserved defamation:
 „ but whosoever teaches or holds them *let*
 „ *him be Anathema!* The summe of them
 „ all cast up by your selfe, in your first
 „ Chap. is this, *Nothing ought or can be*
 „ *certainly beleaved, farther than it may be*
 „ *proved by evidence of Naturall reason,*
 „ (where I conceive Naturall reason is op-
 „ posed to supernaturall Revelation;) and
 „ whosoever holds so *let him be Anathe-*
 „ *ma!* And moreover to cleare my selfe
 „ once for all, from all imputations of this
 „ nature, which charge me injuriously with
 „ deniall of Supernaturall Verities, I pro-
 „ fesse sincerely, that I beleieve all those
 „ Books of Scripture, which the Church
 „ of England accounts Canonically, to be
 „ the Infallible word of God: I beleieve all
 „ things evidently contained in them; all
 „ things evidently, or even probably dedu-
 „ cible from them: I acknowledge all that
 „ to be Heresie, which by the Act of Par-
 „ liament *primo of Q. E L I Z.* is declared to
 „ be so, and only to be so: And though
 „ in such points which may be held di-

„ verily of divers men *salva Fidei compage*,
 „ I would not take any mans liberty from
 „ him, and humbly beseech all men, that
 „ they would not take mine from me !
 „ Yet thus much I can say (which I hope
 „ will satisfie any man of reason,) that what-
 „ soever hath been held necessary to salva-
 „ tion, either by the Catholique Church of
 „ all Ages, or by the consent of Fathers,
 „ measured by *Vincentius Lyrinensis* his
 „ rule, or is held necessary either by the
 „ Catholique Church of this Age, or by
 „ the consent of Protestants, or even by the
 „ Church of England, that, against the So-
 „ cinians, and all others whatsoever, I doe
 „ verily beleieve and embrace.

„ Another great and manifest injury you
 (b) §. 29. „ have done me, *pursues our Author (b)*, in
 „ charging me to have forsaken your Reli-
 „ gion, *because it conduced not to my tem-*
 „ *porall ends*, and suted not with my de-
 „ sires and designs : Which certainly is a
 „ horrible crime, and whereof if you could
 „ convince me, by just and strong presump-
 „ tions, I should then acknowledge my self
 „ to deserve that opinion, which you would
 „ faine induce your Credents unto, that I
 „ changed not your Religion for any o-
 „ ther, but for none at all. But of this
 „ great fault my conscience acquits me, and
 „ God, who only knowes the hearts of all
 „ men, knows that I am innocent ! Neither
 „ doubt

„ doubt I but all they who know me, and
„ amongst them many Persons of place and
„ qualitie, will say they have reason in this
„ matter to be my Compurgators. And for
„ you, though you are very affirmative in
„ your accusation, yet you neither do, nor
„ can produce any prooffe or presumption
„ for it, but forgetting your selfe, (as it is
„ Gods will oft-times that Slanderers should
„ doe) have let fall some passages, which
„ being well weighed, will make consider-
„ ing men apt to beleeve, that you did not
„ beleeve your selfe. For how is it possi-
„ ble you should beleeve that I deserted
„ your Religion for ends, and against the
„ light of my conscience, out of a desire
„ of preferment, and yet out of scruple of
„ conscience, should refuse (which also you
„ impute to me,) to subscribe the 39. Ar-
„ ticles, that is, refuse to enter at the only
„ common doore, which here in England
„ leads to preferment? Again, how incre-
„ dible is it that you should beleeve, that
„ I forsooke the profession of your Religi-
„ on, as not suting with my desires and de-
„ signes, which yet reconciles the enjoying
„ of the pleasures and profits of sin here,
„ with the hope of happinesse hereafter,
„ and proposes as great hope of great tem-
„ porall advancements to the capable ser-
„ vants of it, as any, nay more than any
„ Religion in the world; and instead of
„ this

„ this should choose Socinianisme, a Doc-
 „ trine, which howsoever erroneous in ex-
 „ plicating the mysteries of Religion, and
 „ allowing greater liberty of opinion in
 „ speculative matters, than any other Com-
 „ panie of Christians doth or they should
 „ do, yet certainlie which you, I am sure,
 „ will pretend and maintaine to explicate
 „ the Lawes of Christ with more rigor, and
 „ lesse indulgence and condescendence to
 „ the desires of flesh and blood than your
 „ Doctrine doth ! And besides, such a Doc-
 „ trine by which no man in his right minde,
 „ can hope for any honour or preferment
 „ either in this Church or State or any o-
 „ ther ! All which clearly demonstrates that
 „ this foule and false aspersiō, which you
 „ have cast upon me, proceeds from no o-
 „ ther fountaine, but a heart abounding
 „ with the gall and bitterneſſe of unchari-
 „ tableneſſe, and even blinded with malice
 „ towards me, or else from a perverse zeale
 „ to your superstition, which secretly sug-
 „ gests this perswasion to you, That for the
 „ Catholique cause nothing is unlawfull,
 „ but that you may make use of such indi-
 „ rect and crooked Arts as these, to blast
 „ my reputation, and to possess mens mindes
 „ with disaffection to my Person, least other-
 „ wise peradventure they might with some
 „ indifferēce heare reason from me.

„ The third and last part of my Accusa-
 „ tion, *says Mr. Chillingworth* (c), was, (c) §. 30.
 „ That I answer out of *Principles which*
 „ *Protestants themselves will professe to*
 „ *detest*: which indeed were to the purpose
 „ if it could be justified. But, besides that
 „ it is confuted by my whole Book, and
 „ made ridiculous by the Approbations pre-
 „ mised unto it, it is very easie for me out
 „ of your own mouth and words to prove
 „ it a most injurious calumny. For what
 „ one conclusion is there in the whole fa-
 „ brick of my Discourse, that is not natu-
 „ rally deducible out of this one Principle,
 „ That *all things necessary to salvation are*
 „ *evidently contained in Scripture*? Or what
 „ one Conclusion almost of importance is
 „ there in your Book, which is not by this one
 „ clearly confutable? “ And this he proves
 afterwards, by applying that Principle to the
 seven Chapters of his Adversary's Book.

The Jesuit having excepted against Mr.
 Chillingworth's being a fit *Champion* for
 the Protestant Cause, first, because he *had*
often, and even not very long since, profes-
sed that he would never subscribe to their
 39 *Articles*; and secondly, because he *had*
set down in writing, Motives, which endu-
ced him to forsake Protestantisme, and ne-
 ver answer'd them (d): Mr. Chillingworth (d) See a-
 takes notice of these two exceptions in the bove, p.
 close of his Preface. 129, 135.

„ And

(e) Preface
 &c; §. 39.
 40.

„ And thus, *says he (e)*, your venome
 „ against me is in a manner spent, saving
 „ only that there remaine two little imper-
 „ tinencies, whereby you would disable mee
 „ from being a fit Advocate for the cause
 „ of Protestants. The first, because I refuse
 „ to subscribe the Articles of the Church of
 „ England : The second, because I have set
 „ down in writing Motives which sometime
 „ induced me to forsake Protestantisme, and
 „ hitherto have not answered them.

„ By the former of which objections it
 „ should seem, that either you conceive the
 „ 39. Articles the common Doctrine of all
 „ Protestants; and if they be, why have you
 „ so often upbraided them with their many
 „ and great differences? Or else that it is the
 „ peculiar defence of the Church of Eng-
 „ land, and not the common cause of all
 „ Protestants, which is here undertaken by
 „ me: which are certainly very grosse mis-
 „ takes. And yet why he who makes scru-
 „ ple of subscribing the truth of one or
 „ two Propositions may not yet be fit e-
 „ nough to maintain that those who doe
 „ subscribe them are in a savable condition,
 „ I doe not understand. Now though I
 „ hold not the Doctrine of all Protestants
 „ absolutely true, (which with reason can-
 „ not be required of me while they hold
 „ contradictions,) yet I hold it free from
 „ all impiety, and from all error destructive
 „ of

„ of Salvation, or in it self damnable : And
 „ this I think in reason may sufficiently
 „ qualifie me, for a maintainer of this as-
 „ sertion, that *Protestancy destroyes not Sal-*
 „ *vation*. For the Church of England, I
 „ am perswaded that the constant Doctrine
 „ of it is so pure and Orthodoxe, that who-
 „ soever beleeves it, and lives according to
 „ it, undoubtedly he shall be saved ; and
 „ that there is no error in it which may ne-
 „ cessitate or warrant any man to disturb
 „ the peace, or renounce the Communion
 „ of it. This in my opinion is all intend-
 „ ed by Subscription ; and thus much if you
 „ conceive me not ready to subscribe, your
 „ *Charity* I assure you is much *Mistaken*.

Mr. Chillingworth not only expresses here his *readiness* to subscribe, but declares what he conceives to be the sense and *intent* of such a *Subscription* ; which he takes now to be a Subscription of Peace or union, and not of Belief or assent, as he thought formerly it was (f). And as he did within a few months actually *subscribe*, we have reason to believe he did it in the same sense (DD).

(f) See above, p. 88.

„ Your

(DD) *We have reason to believe that he subscribed in the same sense*. Dr. Bennet in his *Essay on the thirty nine Articles*, undertakes to prove that a Subscription of Belief or assent to the Articles, is required from the Clergy

„ Your other objection against me, *pursues our Author* (g), is yet more im-
 (2) §. 41. „ pertinent and frivolous than the for-
 „ mer: Unlesse perhaps it be a just ex-
 „ ception against a Physitian, that him-
 „ self was sometimes in, and recovered
 „ himself from that disease which he un-
 „ dertakes to cure; or against a Guide in
 „ a way,

Clergy; and not a mere Subscription of Peace or uni-
 (1) See on (1). And from the foregoing passage of Mr. Chil-
 Rem. (V). lingworth, he endeavours to shew that this was also his
 opinion. After having transcribed that passage, he pro-
 ceeds thus:

„ In the latter part of the Words before quoted, *says*
 (2) *An Es-* „ *he* (2), Mr. *Chillingworth* asserts, that *in his Opinion*,
say on the „ *all that is intended by Subscription is, that the constant*
thirty nine „ *Doctrine of the Church of England is so pure and Or-*
Articles, „ *thodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according*
 &c; Chap. „ *to it, shall undoubtedly be saved; and that there is no*
 xxxiv, p. „ *Error in it, which may necessitate or warrant any*
 429, 430. „ *Man to disturb the Peace, or renounce the Communi-*
 „ *on of it. From whence it may seem to follow, that*
 „ *a Man may, in Mr. Chillingworth's Opinion, sub-*
 „ *scribe the Articles, altho' he does not think every*
 „ *Proposition of them true; provided the untrue Pro-*
 „ *position be of so small Consequence, as was before*
 „ *described. But I answer, that when Mr. Chilling-*
 „ *worth saies, This in my Opinion is all intended by Sub-*
 „ *scription, he neither does nor can mean, this is all*
 „ *that the Person who subscribes, is supposed and requir-*
 „ *ed by the Subscription to profess. For then Mr. Chil-*
 „ *lingworth*

„ a way, that at first before he had experi-
 „ ence himself mistook it, and afterwards
 „ found his error and amended it. That
 „ noble Writer *Michael de Montaigne*, was
 „ surely of a far different minde; for he
 „ will hardly allow any Physitian compe-
 „ tent, but only for such diseases as himselve
 „ had passed through: And a far greater than
 „ *Montaigne*, even he that said, *Tu conver-*
 „ *sus confirma fratres*, gives us sufficiently
 „ to

„ *lingworth* must needs be inconsistent with himself.
 „ For he owns, that he did at that time *refuse to sub-*
 „ *scribe*; and yet confesses, that he was at that very
 „ time *ready to subscribe, that the constant Doctrine of*
 „ *the Church of England is so pure and Orthodox, that*
 „ *whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, shall un-*
 „ *doubtedly be saved; and that there is no Error in it,*
 „ *which may necessitate or warrant any Man to disturb*
 „ *the Peace, or renounce the Communion of it.* Surely
 „ he would not *refuse* Subscription, tho' he was *ready*
 „ to subscribe what he refus'd Subscription to.

„ Wherefore the Case was plainly this. Mr. *Chil-*
 „ *lingworth* was persuaded, that those who subscribe,
 „ are supposed and required to subscribe to the Truth
 „ of the Articles. For he therefore refus'd to subscribe,
 „ because he *made scruple of subscribing the Truth of one*
 „ *or two Propositions*; his Doubts about which Propo-
 „ sitions made him *refuse* Subscription to the Articles in
 „ general, which included those Propositions. And
 „ yet he was at the same time *persuaded, and ready to*
 „ *subscribe, that the constant Doctrin of the Church of*
 „ *England*

„ to understand that they which have them-
 „ selves been in such a state as to need
 „ conversion, are not thereby made incapa-
 „ ble of, but rather engaged and obliged
 „ unto, and qualified for, this charitable
 „ function“.

„ Neither

„ *England is so pure and Orthodox, that whosoever be-*
 „ *lieves it, and lives according to it, shall undoubtedly be*
 „ *saved.* And he continued in Communion with our
 „ Church; because, tho' he *scrupled* subscribing one or
 „ two Propositions, yet he was persuaded, and ready to
 „ subscribe, that there is *no Error in her Doctrin, which*
 „ *may necessitate or warrant any Man to disturb her*
 „ *Peace, or renounce her Communion.* So that the
 „ Propositions he *scrupled* to subscribe, were of no great
 „ or dangerous Consequence. Wherefore, when he
 „ saies, that what he was thus ready to subscribe, at the
 „ same time that he *refused* the legal Subscription,
 „ was in his Opinion, *all intended by Subscription*; he
 „ must needs mean, that what he was ready to sub-
 „ scribe, was all that our Governors did by Subscrip-
 „ tion intend and endeavor to secure and provide for the
 „ Acknowledgment of; though the Form of Subscrip-
 „ tion legally injoin'd, carried the matter something
 „ farther, than the first Design of it did, in his Opinion,
 „ oblige our Governors to insist on. For the Form
 „ requires Men to subscribe *willingly* and *ex animo* to
 „ all things contained in the Articles, that is, to the
 „ Truth of them all; and therefore, tho' Mr. *Chil-*
 „ *lingworth* was ready to subscribe what was *intended*,
 „ yet he refused to subscribe what was *required*.

But I will presume to say, that we don't want Dr.
 Bennet's ingenious Distinction on this occasion. For

„ Neither am I guilty, *adds Mr. Chilling-*
 „ *worth (h)*, of that strange and preposter- (h) §. 42.
 „ ous zeal (as you esteem it) which you im-
 „ pute to me; for having been so long
 „ carelesse in removing this scandall against
 „ Protestants, and answering my owne Mo-
 „ tives, and yet now shewing such fervor
 „ in writing against others. For neither
 „ are they other Motives, but the very same
 „ for the most part with those which abused
 „ me,

Mr. Chillingworth does not himself affirm or *own*, that
at the time of writing that passage, he did *refuse to sub-*
scribe: he only recites one of Mr. Knott's *Objections*,
 contain'd in a Pamphlet printed two years before he
 wrote the said passage, whereby that Jesuit *would dis-*
able him from being a fit Advocate for the cause of Pro-
testants (3). Which Objection he answers by declaring (3) *Preface*,
 that he was now *ready to subscribe*; and adds withall §. 39.
 what he *conceiv'd to be intended by Subscription*. His
 Answer, in short, amounts to this: „ You pretend
 „ that I am not a *fit Advocate for the cause of Prote-*
 „ *stants*, and especially for the Church of England,
 „ because *I refuse*, you say, *to subscribe the Articles of*
 „ *that Church*: but *I assure you*, you are much mistaken;
 „ for *I am ready to subscribe to all that, in my Opinion,*
 „ *is intended by Subscription* “. Which is a full and di-
 rect Answer. Whereas according to Dr. Bennet's *In-*
terpretation, Mr. Chillingworth leaves the Jesuit's Ob-
 jection unanswer'd. For his Answer will come to
 this: „ You say that I am not a *fit Advocate for the*
 „ *cause of Protestants*, nor consequently for the Church
 „ of England, because *I refuse to subscribe the Articles*

„ me, against which this Book which I
 „ now publish, is in a maner wholly imploy-
 „ ed : And besides, though you Jesuites take
 „ upon you to have such large and univer-
 „ sall intelligence of all State affaires and
 „ matters of importance, yet I hope such
 „ a contemptible matter, as an Answer of
 „ mine to a little peece of paper, may ve-
 „ ry probably have been written and es-
 „ caped your Observation. The truth is, I
 „ made

„ of that Church : but I must tell you, that *I am rea-*
 „ *dy to subscribe* all that was *first design'd and intended*
 „ *by Subscription* ; tho' *I refuse to subscribe* what hath
 „ been since, and is now *required by the Form of Sub-*
 „ *scription legally enjoin'd* “. Which is to say, *I refuse*
to subscribe ; and own the Jesuit's Charge to be
 true.

(4) *Ibid.*
 §. 40.

(5) An al-
 lusion to
 Mr. Knot-
 t's Pamph-
 let, intit.
Charity
mistaken
 &c. See
 above pag.
 44.

Mr. Chillingworth, does not only express his *readi-*
ness to subscribe ; but, at the same time, declares in what
 sense he was *ready to subscribe*, by shewing what he
 judged to be *intended by Subscription*. For the Church
 of England, says he (4), *I am persuaded, that the con-*
stant Doctrine of it is so pure and Orthodoxe, that who-
soever beleeveth it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly
he shall be saved ; and that there is no error in it which
may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace
or renounce the Communion of it. This in my opinion is
all intended by Subscription ; and thus much if you con-
ceive me not ready to subscribe, your Charity. I assure you
is much mistaken (5). Whereby it is evident, that he
 judg'd the Subscription to the Articles, to be a Subscrip-
 tion of Peace and union, and not of Belief or assent.

Mr.

„ made an Answer to them three yeares
 „ since and better, which perhaps might
 „ have been published, but for two reasons:
 „ one because the Motives were never pub-
 „ lique, untill you made them so; the o-
 „ ther, because I was loath to proclaime to
 „ all the world so much weaknesse as I
 „ shewed, in suffering my self to be abus-
 „ ed by such silly Sophismes; All which
 „ proceed upon mistakes and false supposi-
 M 2 „ tions,

Mr. Chillingworth's sense of the Subscription hath been so generally understood in the manner I have said, that the Romish Controversists have, some endeavour'd to ridicule it; and others, represented it as a Novelty he had introduced into the Church of England, (because he is the first that hath express'd himself clearly and distinctly in that respect): and I don't remember that our Divines, who answer'd their Books, have taken notice of that imputation. But let us see what those Controversists say. It will be sufficient to cite two or three of them.

The first is Mr. Lacy, the Jesuit, who published in 1639 a Pamphlet, intituled, *the Judgment of an University-Man* &c. against Mr. Chillingworth's Preface (6). (6) See Rem. (MM). After having transcribed out of it, the aforesaid paragraph, *The Doctrine of the Church of England is so pure* &c, and observed that this *acknowledgment*, Mr. Chillingworth *is persuaded, is the only thing intended by subscription*; he adds as an *Answer* to it: „ (7) By this you „ see he hath now leveled his way to Ecclesiastica! „ preferment; so that, if hereafter you heare he hath „ accepted any such commodity, you may know he „ did

(7) *The Judgment of an University-Man* &c, pag. 156.

THE LIFE OF

„ fitions, which unadvisedly I took for
 „ granted; as when I have set down the
 „ Motives in order by subsequent Answers
 „ to them I shall quickly demonstrate, and
 „ so make an end “.

Then

„ did it vpon better consideration. The scruple he had
 „ concerning subscription is vanish't into the aire, whi-
 „ ther the rest of his scruples will follow in their turnes.
 „ It may be that scruple was but a melancholique
 „ Dreame, such as he conceaues *Luthers* conference
 „ with the Diuell might be. He is now *Materia pri-*
 „ *ma*, for any benefice, Chayre, Prebendary, Chanon-
 „ ry, or what yee will: you may coniecture who hath
 „ had the tempering, and working of this pliable clay;
 „ he was a Maister in that feat you may assure your
 „ selfe, if not a Doctor, and this his Maister-peece “.
 Whereby it appears that Mr. Lacy concluded from Mr.
 Chillingworth's expressions, that his *scruples* about the
Subscription were removed; that he was now *persuaded*
 that the *acknowledgment* of the propositions he recites,
 viz. that *the constant Doctrine of the Church of England*
is so pure &c. was the only thing intended by subscription;
 and that he was *ready to subscribe* in that sense, and *had*
by this now leneled his way to Ecclesiastical prefer-
ment.

Mr. Knott hath not shew'd here the same ingenuity
 as Mr. Lacy. For he persisted to the last in the Accu-
 sation he first brought upon Mr. Chillingworth in his

(8) See
 Rem. (F),
 a. (5); and
 Rem.
 (PP), n.
 (3).

My second Author is Mr. Cressy, who was once
 Dean of Laghlin in Ireland, and Canon of Windsor;
 but having left England in 1644, he embraced the

Romish

Then he sets down the *Motives*, as they were publish'd by his Adversary; and afterwards his *Answers* to them *briefly* and *in* the same *order* (i). But for the convenience of the Reader, I will transcribe them here separately, and subjoyn each Answer to each Motive.

M 3

I. MOTIVE.

Romish Religion at Rome in 1646 (9), and became a noted champion for Popery. He publish'd the *Motives* of his Conversion at Paris in 1647, under this title: *Exomologesis: or, a faithfull Narration of the occasions and motives of the Conversion unto Catholique Vnity, of Hugh-Paulin de Cressy, lately Deane of Laghlin &c. in Ireland, and Prebend of Windfore in England*; and at the same time that he endeavours to confute Mr. Chillingworth's principles, he expresses a great esteem and veneration for his person. He acknowledges *the inwardnesse* (10) *which he had for many yeares with that worthy person*; the *mutuall frendship* there was *betweene them*; the *great obligations he had to cherriish his memory, and the high esteeme of his excellent partes* (11). Mr. Cressy being thus intimately acquainted with Mr. Chillingworth, whom he had frequent opportunities to see, not only at Oxford, but also at the Lord Falkland's; must certainly have known what his opinion was concerning the *Subscription* to the Articles. Let us therefore see how he represents it.

„ Mr. Chillingworth, *says he* (12), by his sharpe understanding, and long meditation considering that no Protestant or other Church could upon their generally acknowledged groundes authoritatively determine either the number or sence of Articles of Faith,

„ so

(i) §. 43, and 44.

(9) Wood, Vol. II. c. 386.

(10) *Exomologesis*, &c; p.

141, of the edition 1647.

(11) These expressions of esteem and respect towards Mr. Chillingworth, have been left out in the 2^d edition of Mr. Cressy's Book printed in 1653, which was new model'd by order of his Superiors.

(12) *Exomologesis*, &c; p.

404, 405, of the 1st edit. and p. 296, 297. of the 2^d ed.

dit.

I. MOTIVE.

Because perpetuall visible profession, which could never be wanting to the Religion of Christ, nor any part of it, is apparently wanting to Protestant Religion, so far as concerns the points in contestation.

ANSWER.

„ God hath neither decreed nor foretold,
 „ that his true Doctrine should *de facto* be
 „ alwayes visibly professed, without any mix-
 „ ture of falsehood.

II. MOTIVE.

„ so as to oblige any man even within her Communi-
 „ on in conscience to assent and submission (for, for
 „ example, if an *Englishman* would not subscribe to
 „ the sence of any Article of the Church of England,
 „ all the penalty would be, he should not partake of
 „ the priviledges and præferments of that Church, but
 „ he might goe over into *Denmarke* or *Holland*, whose
 „ sence in such an Article he liked better, and still be
 „ acknowledged *even by the English Church* to be or-
 „ thodoxe enough) *Hee* therefore was forced to intro-
 „ duce *two Novelties* among English Protestants, which
 „ find great approbation: the first (13) is to alter the
 „ old manner and notion of *subscription* to the English
 „ Articles; for *whereas* before, the Protestants there
 „ by their subscription testified their belief of all the
 „ 39. Articles in the sence imported in the wordes;
 „ yea *whereas* there was a Canon which denounced Ex-
 „ communication *ipso facto* to all that should say that
 „ any of them were not true, *Mr. Chillingworth* thus
 „ expresth his mind in subscribing, *I am perswaded*
 „ *that the constant doctrine of the Church of England is*

(13) The
 second
 pretended
 Innovati-
 on, see
 Rem.
 (GG).

Answ. to
Direct. to
N. N. pa-
rag. 39.

II. MOTIVE.

Because Luther & his Followers, separating from the Church of Rome, separated also from all Churches, pure or impure, true or false, then being in the World; upon which ground I conclude, that either Gods promises did faile of performance, if there were

M 4 then

„ so pure and Orthodoxe, that whosoever beleives it and
 „ lives according to it undoubtedly he shall be saved: and
 „ that there is no error in it which may necessitate or
 „ warrant any man to disturb the peace, or renounce the
 „ Communion of it. This in my opinion (sayth hee) is
 „ all intended by subscription “.

My third Author is Mr. Woodhead, who likewise pretends that this sense of the *Subscription*, was first brought into the Church of England by Mr. Chillingworth: as it appears by several passages in his Books, besides those I have already transcribed in another place (14).

Mr. Chillingworth's sense and meaning is understood in the same manner by the Non-Conformists. „ But
 „ this, says one of them (15), many of us confess, That
 „ after the way that they call Schism and Phanaticism,
 „ so worship we the God of our Fathers; believing all
 „ things that are written in the Old and New Testament,
 „ and in the Articles of Religion of the Church of Eng-
 „ land, so far as concerns the Doctrine of Faith and Sa-
 „ craments. And are still ready to subscribe to all that
 „ the Learned and Famous Mr. Chillingworth saith
 „ was meant by Subscription; namely, That we are
 „ perswaded that the constant Doctrine of the Church of
 „ England is so pure and Orthodox, that whosoever be-
 „ lieves

(14) See Rem. (R).
 §. 5.

(15) *An humble Apology for Non-Conformists*, &c; printed in 1669 in 8°; in the beginning of the Preface.

THE LIFE OF

then no Church in the world, which held all things necessary, and nothing repugnant to Salvation; or else that Luther and his Sectaries, separating from all Churches then in the World, and so from the true, if there were any true, were damnable Schismatics.

ANSWER.

„ *lieves it, and lives according to it, shall be saved; and*
 „ *that there is no Error in it, which may necessitate any*
 „ *man to disturb the peace, or renounce the communion of*
 „ *it. Now this being our Judgment, adds that Au-*
 „ *thor, I humbly conceive we are acquitted from Schism*
 „ *in the Opinion of Mr. Chillingworth, and ought to*
 „ *be so in the Judgement of that learned and judicious*
 „ *Bishop Saunderson, who (as I have been credibly in-*
 „ *formed) being asked what he thought of the Sub-*
 „ *scription before mentioned, said, (after he read it and*
 „ *considered it) I never subscribed in any other sense my*
 „ *self.*

And now having, I hope, made it evident that Mr. Chillingworth consider'd the *Subscription* to the Articles, as a subscription of Union and peace, and not of Belief or assent; *we have reason to believe that he subscribed in that sense:* which is the assertion I undertook to prove in this Remark. But if any body should still entertain some scruple about it, I will only desire them to observe that this was also the *sense* of Archbishop Laud (16), which could hardly be unknown to Mr. Chillingworth; and the opinion of Dr. Sheldon, who labour'd to convince him of it (17), and was, no doubt, the person that brought him at last into it,

(16) See
Rem. (V).
§. 1.
(17) See
Rem. (X).

ANSWER.

„ God hath neither decreed nor foretold,
 „ that there shall be alwayes a visible com-
 „ pany of men free from all error in it selfe
 „ damnable. Neither is it alwayes of ne-
 „ cessity Schismaticall to separate from the
 „ externall communion of a Church, though
 „ wanting nothing necessary. For if this
 „ Church supposed to want nothing neces-
 „ sary, require me to professe against my
 „ conscience, that I beleve some errour,
 „ though never so small and innocent, which
 „ I do not beleve, and will not allow me
 „ her Communion but upon this condition,
 „ In this case, the Church for requiring this
 „ condition is Schismaticall, and not I for
 „ separating from the Church.

III. MOTIVE.

*Because, if any credit may be given to as
 creditable Records, as any are extant, the
 Doctrine of Catholiques hath been frequent-
 ly confirmed; and the opposite Doctrine of
 Protestants, confounded with supernaturall
 and divine Miracles.*

ANSWER.

„ If any credit may be given to Records
 „ far more creditable than these, the Doc-
 „ trine of Protestants, that is, the Bible,
 „ hath been confirmed, and the Doctrine of
 „ Papists, which is in many points plainly
 „ opposite to it, confounded with superna-
 „ turall and divine Miracles, which for num-
 „ ber

„ ber and glory outshine Popish pretended
 „ Miracles, as much as the Sun doth an *Ig-*
 „ *nis fatuus*, those I mean which were
 „ wrought by our Saviour Christ and his
 „ Apostles: Now this Book, by the con-
 „ fession of all sides confirmed by innume-
 „ rous Miracles, foretels me plainly, that
 „ in after ages great signes and wonders shall
 „ be wrought in confirmation of false doc-
 „ trine, and that I am not to beleeve any
 „ doctrine which seemes to my understand-
 „ ing repugnant to the first, though an An-
 „ gell from Heaven should teach it; which
 „ were certainly as great a Miracle as any
 „ that was ever wrought in attestation of
 „ any part of the doctrine of the Church of
 „ Rome. But that true doctrine should in
 „ all ages have the testimony of Miracles,
 „ that I am no where taught; So that I
 „ have more reason to suspect and be afraid
 „ of pretended Miracles, as signes of false
 „ doctrine, then much to regard them as
 „ certain Arguments of the Truth. Be-
 „ sides, setting aside the Bible, and the Tra-
 „ dition of it, there is as good story for
 „ Miracles wrought by those who lived and
 „ dyed in opposition to the Doctrine of the
 „ Romane Church, (as by *S. Cyprian, Col-*
 „ *mannus, Columbanus, Aidanus*, and others,)
 „ as there is for those that are pretended to
 „ be wrought by the members of that
 „ Church. Lastly, it seems to me no strange
 „ thing

„ thing that God in his Justice should per-
 „ mit some true Miracles to be wrought
 „ to delude them, who have forged so ma-
 „ ny as apparently the Professors of the Ro-
 „ mane Doctrine have, to abuse the World.

IV. MOTIVE.

Because many points of Protestant doctrine, are the damned opinions of Heretiques, condemned by the Primitive Church.

ANSWER.

„ All those were not ^a Heretiques which
 „ by *Philastrius*, *Epiphanius*, or *S. Austine*
 „ were put in the Catalogue of Heretiques.

^a See this
 acknow-
 ledged by
Beilar. de
Script. Ec-
cles. in Phi-
lastrio: by
Petavius
Animad.
in Epiph.
de inscrip.
operis. By
S. Austin
Lib. de Hæ-
res. Har.
 80.

V. MOTIVE.

Because the Prophecies of the old Testament, touching the conversion of Kings and Nations to the true Religion of Christ, have been accomplished in and by the Catholique Romane Religion, and the Professors of it; and not by Protestant Religion, and the Professors of it.

ANSWER.

„ Kings and Nations have been and may
 „ be converted by men of contrary Reli-
 „ gions.

VI. MOTIVE.

Because the doctrine of the Church of Rome is conformable, and the doctrine of Protestants contrary to the doctrine of the Fathers of the Primitive Church, even by the confession of Protestants themselves; I meane, those Fathers, who lived within the
compasse

THE LIFE OF

compasse of the first 600. yeares ; to whom Protestants themselves do very frequently, and very confidently appeale.

ANSWER.

„ The Doctrine of Papists, is confessed
 „ by ^r Papists contrary to the Fathers in many
 „ points,

VII. MOTIVE.

Because the first pretended Reformers had neither extraordinary Commission from God, nor ordinary Mission from the Church, to preach Protestant Doctrine.

ANSWER.

„ The Pastors of a Church cannot but
 „ have authority from it, to preach against
 „ the abuses of it whether in Doctrine or
 „ Practice, if there be any in it: Neither
 „ can any Christian want an ordinary com-
 „ mission from God to do a necessary work
 „ of Charity after a peaceable manner, when
 „ there is no body else that can or will do
 „ it. In extraordinary cases extraordinary
 „ courses are not to be disallowed. If
 „ some Christian Lay-man should come in-
 „ to a Country of Infidels, and had ability
 „ to perswade them to Christianity, who
 „ would say he might not use it for want
 „ of Commission!

VIII. MOTIVE.

Because Luther, to preach against the Masse (which contains the most materiall points now in Controversie) was perswaded by

by reasons suggested to him by the devill himselfe, disputing with him. So himselfe professeth in his Book de Missa Privata: That all men might take heed of following him, who professeth himself to follow the devill.

ANSWER.

„ *Luthers conference with the devill*
 „ *might be, for ought I know, nothing but*
 „ *a melancholy dreame. If it were reall,*
 „ *the devill might perswade Luther from*
 „ *the Masse, hoping by doing so to keepe*
 „ *him constant to it: Or that others would*
 „ *make his dissuasion from it an Argument*
 „ *for it, (as we see Papists doe) and be a-*
 „ *fraid of following Luther, as confessing*
 „ *himselfe to have been perswaded by the*
 „ *devill.*

IX. MOTIVE.

Because the Protestant cause is now, and hath been from the beginning maintained with grosse falsifications, and Calumnies; whereof their prime Controversie Writers, are notoriously, and in high degree guilty.

ANSWER.

„ *Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.*
 „ *Papists are more guilty of this fault than*
 „ *Protestants. Even this very Author in*
 „ *this very Pamphlet hath not so many*
 „ *leaves as falsifications and calumnies.*

X. MOTIVE.

THE LIFE OF

X. MOTIVE.

Because by denying all humane authority, either of Pope, or Councells, or Church, to determine Controversies of Faith, they have abolished all possible meanes of suppressing Heresie, or restoring unity to the Church.

ANSWER.

„ Let all men beleeve the Scripture and
 „ that only, and endeavour to beleeve it in
 „ the true sense, and require no more of
 „ others, and they shall finde this not only
 „ a better, but the only meanes to suppress
 „ Heresie, and restore Unity. For he that
 „ beleeves the Scripture sincerely, and en-
 „ deavours to beleeve it in the true sense,
 „ cannot possibly be an Heretique. And
 „ if no more than this were required of a-
 „ ny man, to make him capable of the
 „ Churches Communion, then all men so
 „ qualified, though they were different in
 „ opinion, yet notwithstanding any such
 „ difference, must be of necessity one in
 „ Communion.

As to that part of Mr. Knott's Pamphlet, wherein he directed our Author *what he was to observe, if he would speake to any purpose* (k); Mr. Chillingworth answers it in the *Conclusion* of his Book. „ And thus, „ *says he* (l), by Gods assistance and the „ advantage of a good cause, I am at length „ through a passage rather tiring than diffi- „ cult, arriv'd at the end of my undertaken „ voyage;

(k) See above, p. 127.

(l) pag. 389.

„ voyage ; and have, as I suppose, made ap-
 „ peare, to all dis-interested and unprejudi-
 „ cate readers, what in the beginning I un-
 „ dertooke, that a vein of Sophistry and
 „ Calummie runs cleane through this first
 „ part of your book : wherein though I
 „ never thought of the *directions* you have
 „ been pleas'd to give me in *your Pamphlet*
 „ *entitled a direction to N. N.* yet upon con-
 „ sideration of my answer, I finde that I
 „ have proceeded as if I had had it alwayes
 „ before my eyes, and steer'd my course by
 „ it as by a card and compasse “.

„ For first, *I have not proceeded by a*
 „ *meere destructive way* (as you call it,) *nor*
 „ *objected such difficulties against your Re-*
 „ *ligion, as upon examination tend to the*
 „ *overthrow of all Religion*, but have shew-
 „ ed that the truth of Christianitie is cleere-
 „ ly independent upon the truth of Poperie :
 „ and that on the other side, the arguments
 „ you urge, and the courses you take for
 „ the maintenance of your Religion, doe
 „ manifestly tend (if they be closely and
 „ consequently followed) to the destruction
 „ of all religion, and lead men by the hand
 „ to Atheisme and impietic ; whereof I
 „ have given you ocular demonstrations in
 „ divers places of my book, but especial-
 „ ly, in my answer to your direction to
 „ N. N. “.

Mr. Chillingworth having so fully vindicated himself from the imputation of proceeding *a meere destructive way*; it may seem strange that the same charge should have been so often repeated against him (EE).

Mr.

(EE) *It may seem strange that the same charge should have been so often repeated against him*]. Before Mr. Knott publish'd his Pamphlet, Mr. Lewgar in his Dispute with Mr. Chillingworth (1), complain'd that his arguments, against the Church of Rome, were *meere-ly destructive*. To which Mr. Chillingworth return'd the following Answer: „ (2) You impute to me, (as

(1) See above pag. 29. & seqq.

(2) *A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar: ubi sup. p. 11.*

„ I hear) that the way I take is destructive only, and
 „ that I build nothing; which first, is not a fault; for
 „ Christian Religion is not now to be built; but only
 „ I desire to have the rubbish and impertinent Lumber
 „ taken off, which you have laid upon it, which hides
 „ the glorious simplicity of it from them which other-
 „ wise would embrace it. Remember, I pray, *Aver-*
 „ *roes* his saying: *Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod*
 „ *comedunt, sit anima mea cum Philosophis*; and consi-
 „ der the swarms of Atheists in *Italy*, and then tell me,
 „ whether your unreasonable and contradictory Doc-
 „ trines, your forged Miracles and counterfeit Legends
 „ have not in all probability produced this effect. Se-
 „ condly, if it be a fault, it is certainly your own; for
 „ your discourse intended for the proof of a positive
 „ conclusion—— *That we must be Papists*——
 „ proves in deed and in truth nothing; but even in shew
 „ and appearance no more but this Negative, that we
 „ must not be Protestants; but what we must be, if

Mr. Chillingworth goes on. „ Neither
 „ can I, *says he* (m), *discover any repugnance* (m) *Ibid.*
 „ *betweene any one part of my answer and* p. 389,
 „ *any other,* though I have used many more 390.
 „ judicious and more searching eyes than
 „ my owne to make, if it were possible,
 „ such

„ we must not be Protestants, God knows; you in this
 „ Discourse (I am sure) do not shew it. “.

I don't find that Mr. Lewgar offer'd any thing against
 this Answer of Mr. Chillingworth, which is, in effect,
 the same with that he gives now to Mr. Knott. Nor
 did our Jesuit attempt to reply, tho' he was pleas'd to
 bring over and over again the same imputation upon
 our Author. In his Pamphlet intituled, *Christianity* (3) *Pre-*
maintained, he says, „ This Man, (3), as the world *face, pag.*
 „ knowes, had warning abundant, in a little Treatise 4. See
 „ called, *The Direction,* that he *should not goe a destruc-* (OO).
 „ *tive way tending to the overthrow of all Religion, no* n. s.
 „ *lesse then of Catholicke Doctrine.* How little he hath *Direct. ca.*
 „ obserued it, will appeare by the ensuing discourse, pen- 4. per to-
 „ ned to the like intent, and to no other, then, I dare *tum.*
 „ say, the *Direction* was, to wit, to preuent, or rather
 „ now, to discouer *Socinianisme* couertly creeping into
 „ this Kingdome vnder the shrowde of *Naturall Reason.* “.
 And in his large Book, printed in 1652, „ How can it be
 „ denied, *says he* (4), that you procede in a destructive (4) *Insidi-*
 „ way (which in that *Direction* you were warned to *lity un-*
 „ avoid) who deny Christian Religion to be infallibly *masked,*
 „ true? And how can Christian Faith be supernaturall, &c. chap.
 „ if it be only a probable Conclusion, evidently dedu- xvi. p.
 „ ced from evident probable Premises? And I wonder 948.
 „ with what face you can say here, *And lastly, that the*

„ such a discoverie but on the other
 „ side, I have charg'd you frequently and
 „ very justly, with manifest contradiction
 „ and retractation of your owne assertions,
 „ and not seldome of the main grounds
 „ you build upon, and the principall con-
 „ clusions which you endeavour to main-
 „ taine: which I conceive my selfe to have
 „ made apparent even to the eye

„ And

„ searcher of all hearts knowes, that you had no other end
 „ in writing this Book, but to confirm the truth of the
 „ divine and infallible Religion of our dearest lord and
 „ Saviour Iesus, seeing you haue endeavoured nothing
 „ more, through your whole Book, than to proue that
 „ Christian Religion is not infallible?

(5) See
 the Text,
 after Rem.
 (OO).

But all this out-cry, is a downright juggle (5); and
 only amounts to this; that Mr. Chillingworth proceeds
 in a *destructive way*, because he disclaims and *destroys*
 the pretended *Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, and
 leaves Christians to their private judgment, and the
 use of their *Reason*, in finding out the sense of the
 Scripture, the *only Rule* of our *Faith*.

(6) *Exo-*
mologesis,
 8cc. pag.
 134, 135,
 of the 1st
 edit. (and
 pag. 85,
 86, of the
 2^d.)

Mr. Cressy lays the same Charge to our Author, and
 for the very same reason. He observes that, tho' the
 English Divines strenuously oppose the *Infallibility of the*
Church of Rome, they are however unwilling to enter
 upon a direct enquiry into, or justification of the Suf-
 ficiency of their Principle, that *the Scripture is the only*
Rule of Faith. „ The experience I have, says he (6),
 „ of the particular disposition of *English Protestants*
 „ (properly so call'd) and the happinesse I have enjoy'd
 „ in the acquaintance and freindship with very many the
 „ most

„ And though I did never pretend to de-
 „ fend D. *Potter* absolutely and in all
 „ things, but only so farre as he defends
 „ truth; (neither did D. *Potter* desire mee,
 „ nor any law of God or man oblige me to
 „ defend him any farther,) yet I doe not
 „ finde that I have cause to differ from him

N 2

„ in

„ most considerable persons for learning, prudence,
 „ and piety in that Church, gives mee warrant to say
 „ this of them, that there is noe point of Controversy
 „ that they are more unwilling to touch upon then this
 „ of *Scriptures being the onely Rule and noe visible Iudge*
 „ *to interpret it*, I meane, as to the positive maintain-
 „ ing therof (for as concerning the disputing against the
 „ *infallibility of the Church*, there is none more ready
 „ to make obiections then they) “. And after having
 „ endeavour'd to account for it, *Hereupon it is*, says he
 „ (7), *that generally their writers have proceeded the de-*
 „ *structive way, willingly undertaking to contradict the*
 „ *Churches infallibility.*

(7) *Ibid.*
 pag. 238:
 (or p. 88.)

„ In these later times, *pursues he* (8), since that great
 „ unfortunâte *Champion against the Churches infallibili-*
 „ *ty Mr. Chillingworth* published his booke in defence
 „ of *Doctour Potter*, this guilt of *English Protestants*
 „ ha's beene farre more conspicuous. His obiections
 „ against the Church, that is, his *destructive groundes*
 „ are avowed and boasted of as unanswerable in a man-
 „ ner by all: but his positive groundes, that is, the
 „ making only Scripture, and that to be interpreted by
 „ every single man's *reason* to be the Rule of Faith,
 „ this is at least waved, if not renounced by many:
 „ But most unjustly: since there is noe conceivable

(8) *Ibid.*
 p. 139,
 140, 141.
 (or p. 88,
 89, 90).

„ meanes

THE LIFE OF

„ in any matter of moment : particularly,
 „ *not concerning the infallibilitie of Gods*
 „ *Church*, which I grant with him to bee
 „ infallible in fundamentalls, because if it
 „ should erre in fundamentalls, it were not
 „ the Church : *Nor concerning the superna-*
 „ *turality of Faith*, which I know and be-
 „ leeve

(9) Mr.
 Cressly
 means
 two or
 three
 Pamphl-
 ets, where-
 of an ac-
 count shall
 be given
 hereafter.

„ meanes how to find out a third intelligible way of
 „ grounding beleife and determining controversies be-
 „ sides divine revelation proposed and interpreted au-
 „ thoritatively by the *Church*, or meere Scripture with-
 „ out any obligatory interpretation, as shall be demon-
 „ strated hereafter. Hence the generall Character given
 „ of himselfe and his booke is, *That he ha's had better*
 „ *luck in pulling downe buildings, then raising new ones,*
 „ *and that he ha's managed his sword much more dex-*
 „ *trously then his buckler.* And yet as if there were no
 „ neede either of house or buckler, or as if Protestants
 „ did thinke themselves secure from weather and dan-
 „ ger if Catholiques were expulsed and wounded, Noe
 „ man appeares with any designe to provide himselfe of
 „ any safer way of defence, then that which *Mr. Chil-*
 „ *lingworth* ha's afforded. Yea *Mr. Chillingworth* him-
 „ selfe (his freinds know the reason of it) utterly re-
 „ fused to answer those unconquerable confutations of
 „ his positive grounds (9), and those fearfull consequen-
 „ ces charged upon them: being satisfyed, or at least
 „ making a countenance before those that knew him
 „ not inwardly that he was satisfyed of the firmenesse
 „ of his Rule of Faith, as long as an exact particular
 „ answer to all his obiections against the *Churches in-*
 „ *fallibility* was not published. Those who have had a
 „ particular

„ leeve as well as you *to be the gift of*
 „ *God, and that flesh and blood reveal'd it*
 „ *not unto us, but our Father which is in*
 „ *heaven.* But now if it were demanded
 „ what defence you can make for deserting
 „ *Charity Mistaken* in the main question dis-
 „ puted between him and Doctor *Potter,*
 N 3 „ *Whether*

„ particular acquaintance with that extraordinary sub-
 „ lime witt and iudgement, will, or at least, can, wit-
 „ nesse with mee that thus much as I have sayd in a
 „ seeming censure of him is true. “.

Thus we see Mr. Chillingworth charged with *having* (10) *The*
better luck in pulling down buildings, then raising new Works of
ones; only because he pull'd down and confuted the In- Mr. de St.
fallibility of the Church of Rome. To which we may Evremond,
 apply his abovemention'd Answer to Mr. Lewgar: *You* &c, Vol.
impute to me, says he, that the way I take is destructive 11. p. 168.
only, and that I build nothing; which first, is not a fault; (11) *The*
for Christian Religion is not now to be built; but only I Nullity of
desire to have the rubbish and impertinent Lumber taken the Romish
off, which you have laid upon it, which hides the glorious Faith,
simplicity of it from them which otherwise would em- &c: With
brace it. an Appen-
 dix tend-
 ing to the
 Demons-
 tration of the
 solidity of
 the Prote-
 stant Faith,
 &c: The
 4th edit.
 Oxford,
 1671, 8^o.
 In the Ap-
 pendix,
 pag. 36^e

And this calls to my mind an ingenious saying of Ge-
 neral Wurts, reported by Mr. de St. Evremond: *when*
men have once taken out of Christianity what they have
foisted into it, there will be but one Religion, as plain in
its Doctrine as pure in its Morals (10.)

The learned Mr. Poole hath very judiciously answer'd
 the foregoing passage of Mr. Cressy. „ *Mr. Cressy,*
 „ *says he* (11), takes notice of Mr. Chillingworth and
 „ his book, that he was better in pulling down build-

„ ings,

„ *Whether Protestancy, without a particu-*
 „ *lar repentance and dereliction of it, de-*
 „ *stroy Salvation,* whereof I have convinc'd
 „ you? I belceve your answer would bee
 „ much like that which *Vlysses* makes in
 „ the *Metamorphosis* for his running a-
 „ way from his friend *Nestor*, that is, none
 „ at all.

„ For

„ ings, than raising new ones, and that he hath ma-
 „ naged his Sword much more dexterously than his
 „ Buckler; and that Protestants do neither own and
 „ defend the positive grounds which *Chillingworth*
 „ laid, nor provide themselves of any safer de-
 „ fence.

„ To which, *says Mr. Poole*, it might suffice in ge-
 „ neral to reply, that if once the grounds of their [*the*
 „ *Romish*] Faith be demolished, and their great preten-
 „ sions of supreme and infallible Authority subverted;
 „ if it be proved, that neither the Pope, nor Councils,
 „ nor Church of *Rome* be infallible, then the Prote-
 „ stants Churches at least stand upon even ground with
 „ the Church of *Rome*, and whatsoever they can rea-
 „ sonably pretend for the establishing of their Faith, will
 „ tend to the securing of ours; and if Protestants have
 „ no solid and sufficient Foundation for their Beliefe,
 „ neither have the Papists any better; and then one of
 „ these two things will follow; either that Scripture,
 „ Reason, and the concurring testimony of former A-
 „ ges, and Churches, and Fathers are a firme Basis for
 „ a Christians Faith independently upon the Churches
 „ Authority, and infallibility, (and this is a certain
 „ truth, though utterly destructive to the Church of
 „ *Rome*.)

„ For *Opposing the Articles of the Church*
 „ of *England*, the Approbation, I presume,
 „ cleeres my book from this imputation.

„ And whereas you give me a Caution,
 „ that my grounds destroy not the beleef of
 „ diverse Doctrines which all good Christi-
 „ ans beleeeve, yea and of all verities that
 „ cannot be prov'd by naturall reason: I pro-
 „ fesse sincerely that I doe not know nor
 „ beleeeve, that any ground laid by mee in
 „ my whole Book, is any way inconsistent
 „ with any one such Doctrine, or with any
 „ veritie revealed in the word of God,
 „ though never so improbable or incom-
 „ prehensible to Naturall Reason: and if I
 „ thought there were, I would deale with
 „ it, as those primitive converts dealt with
 „ their curious Books in the *Acts of the*
 „ *Apostles*.

N 4

„ For

„ *Rome*,) or else, (which I tremble to speak, and yet
 „ these desperate persons are not afraid to assert) that
 „ the Christian Faith hath no solid ground to rest upon,
 „ (I mean, without the Churches infallible Authority,
 „ which is now supposed to be discarded and disprov-
 „ ed.) Now here it must be confessed that some Pro-
 „ testants expresse themselves too unwarily in the
 „ point, whereby they give the Adversary some seeming
 „ advantage, &c.

The same charge against Mr. Chillingworth hath been
 lately reviv'd by Dr. Hare, as we shall see in another
 place (12).

(12) See
 Rem.
 (GG).

THE LIFE OF

„ For the *Epistle of Saint Iames*, and
 „ *those other Books which were anci-*
 „ *ently controverted, and are now received*
 „ *by the Church of England as Canonick*;
 „ I am so farre from relying upon any Prin-
 „ ciples which must (to my apprehension)
 „ bring with them the deniall of the au-
 „ thoritie of them, that I my selfe beleeve
 „ them all to be Canonick.

„ For the *overthrowing the Infallibilitie*
 „ *of all Scripture*, my Book is so innocent
 „ of it, that the Infallibilitie of Scripture
 „ is the chiefest of all my grounds.

„ And lastly for Arguments *tending to*
 „ *prove an impossibility of all Divine, Su-*
 „ *pernaturall, Infallible Faith and Religi-*
 „ *on*, I assure my selfe that if you were ten
 „ times more a spider than you are, you
 „ could suck no such poyson from them.
 „ My heart, I am sure, is innocent of any
 „ such intention: and the searcher of all
 „ hearts knowes that I had no other end
 „ in writing this Book, but to confirme to
 „ the uttermost of my abilitie the truth of
 „ the Divine and Infallible Religion of our
 „ dearest Lord and Saviour Christ Iesus,
 „ which I am ready to scale and confirme
 „ not with my arguments only, but my
 „ blood!

„ Now these are the directions, *pursues*
 „ *Mr. Chillingworth*, which you have been
 „ pleas'd to give mee, whether out of a
 „ feare

„ feare that I might otherwise deviate from
 „ them, or out of a desire to make others
 „ think so: But howsoever, I have not, to
 „ my understanding, swarved from them in
 „ any thing, which puts me in good hope
 „ that my Answer to this first Part of your
 „ Book will give even to you your selfe in-
 „ different good satisfaction.

Then he tells him the reasons why he hath not publish'd an answer to the second Part of his Book.

„ I have also provided, *says he* (n), ^{(n) 390.}
 „ though this were more than I undertook, ^{391, 392.}
 „ a just and punctuall examination and re-
 „ futation of your *second Part*: But (if you
 „ will give your consent) am resolv'd to
 „ suppress it, and that for divers sufficient
 „ and reasonable considerations.

„ First, because the discussion of the
 „ Controversies intreated of in the *first*
 „ *Part* (if we shall think fit to proceed in
 „ it, as I for my part shall, so long as I
 „ have truth to reply,) will, I conceive, be
 „ sufficient employment for us, though wee
 „ cast off the burden of those many lesser
 „ disputes which remaine behind in the
 „ Second. And perhaps wee may doe God
 „ and his Church more service by exactly
 „ discussing and fully clearing the truth in
 „ these few, than by handling many after
 „ a sleight and perfunctorie manner.

‡

„ Secondly,

THE LIFE OF

„ Secondly, because the addition of the
 „ Second Part whether for your purpose or
 „ mine is clearly unnecessarie: there being
 „ no understanding man, Papist or Prote-
 „ stant, but will confesse that (for as much
 „ as concernes the maine Question now in
 „ agitation, about the saveablenesse of Pro-
 „ testants) if the first Part of your Book be
 „ answered, there needs no reply to the Se-
 „ cond: as on the other side I shall willing-
 „ ly grant, if I have not answered the
 „ First, I cannot answer a great part of the
 „ Second.

„ Thirdly, because the addition of the
 „ Second part not only is unnecessarie, but in
 „ effect by your selfe confes'd to be so.
 „ For in your preamble to your Second
 „ Part you tell us, *That the substance of*
 „ *the present Controversie is handled in*
 „ *the first: and therein also you pretend to*
 „ *have answered the chiefe grounds of D.*
 „ *Potters book:* So that in replying to your
 „ Second Part I shall doe little else but pur-
 „ sue shadowes.

„ Fourthly, because your Second Part
 „ (setting aside Repetitions and References)
 „ is in a manner made up of disputes a-
 „ bout particular matters, which you are
 „ very importunate to have forborne, as
 „ suspecting, at least pretending to suspect,
 „ that they *were brought in purposely by D.*
 „ *Potter*

„ *Potter to dazzle the Reader's eyes and*
 „ *distract his mind, that he might not see*
 „ *the clearnes of the reasons brought in de-*
 „ *fence of the Generall Doctrine delivered*
 „ *in Charity Mistaken.* All which you are
 „ likely enough (if there be occasion) to
 „ say againe to mee; and therefore I am
 „ resolv'd for once even to humour you so
 „ farre as to keepe my discourse within those
 „ very lists and limits which your selfe have
 „ prescrib'd, and to deale with you upon
 „ no other arguments, but only those where-
 „ in you conceive your chiefe advantage
 „ and principall strength, and, as it were,
 „ your Sampson's lock to lye: wherein if
 „ I gaine the cause clearly from you (as I
 „ verily hope by Gods help I shall doe) it
 „ cannot but redound much to the honour
 „ of the truth maintain'd by me, which by
 „ so weak a Champion can overcome such
 „ an *Achilles* for error even in his strongest
 „ holds.

„ For these reasons, although I have made
 „ readie an answer to your Second Part,
 „ and therein have made it sufficiently evi-
 „ dent: That for shifting evasions from *D.*
 „ *Potters* arguments; for impertinent ca-
 „ vills, and frivolous exceptions, and inju-
 „ rious calumnies against him for his mis-
 „ alleadging of Authors: For proceeding
 „ upon false and ungrounded principles;
 „ for making inconsequent and sophisticall
 „ deductions,

„ deductions, and, in a word, for all the
 „ vertues of an ill answer your Second Part
 „ is no way second to the First. Yet not-
 „ withstanding all this advantage, I am re-
 „ solv'd, if you will give me leave, either
 „ wholly to suppress it, or at least to de-
 „ ferre the publication of it, untill I see
 „ what exceptions, upon a twelve-months
 „ examination (for so long I am well assur'd
 „ you have had it in your hands) (FF)
 „ you can take at this which is now pub-
 „ lished, that so if my grounds be disco-
 „ vered false I may give over building on
 „ them: or (if it shall be thought fit) build
 „ on more securely when it shall appeare
 „ that nothing materiall and of moment is
 „ or can be objected against them. This I
 „ say,

(FF) *Untill I see what exceptions, upon a twelve-
 months examination (for so long I am well assured you
 have had my Book in your hands) you can take &c*. Mr.
 Chillingworth hath the same thing in his Preface: „ For

(1) *Preface*, „ though, *says he* (1), by some crooked and sinister arts,
 §. 4. „ you have got my Answer into your hands, now a
 „ yeare since and upwards, as I have been assured by
 „ some that professe to know it, and those of your
 (2) See a- „ own party, &c (2) “. So that they were Roman-
 bove, p. Catholicks from whom he had this information. How-
 (3) *Infide-* „ ever Mr. Knott denyes the fact to be true in his large
lity un- Book. „ For Conclusion of my Book, *says he* (3), I
masked, „ disposed myself to giue a particular Answer to the
 &c. pag. „ conclusion of yours (wherein you are not ashamed
 948. „ to

„ say, upon a supposition that your selfe
 „ will allow these reasons for satisfying and
 „ sufficient, and not repent of the motion
 „ which your selfe has made, of reducing
 „ the Controversie between us to this short
 „ Issue. But in case your minde be alter-
 „ ed, upon the least intimation you shall
 „ give me, that you doe but desire to have
 „ it out, your desire shall prevaile with me
 „ above all other reasons, and you shall
 „ not faile to receive it with all convenient
 „ speed “.

At the same time, he desires Mr. Knott
 to give a previous answer to eleven Argu-
 ments of Dr. Potter, which he had thought
 fit to pass by. „ Only that my Answer,
 „ *says he (o)*, may bee compleat, and that I (o) 391.
 „ may have all my work together, and not
 „ be troubled my selfe, nor enforc'd to
 „ trouble you with after-reckonings, I would
 „ first entreat you to make good your Pro-
 „ mise of not *omitting to answer all the*
 „ *particles of D. Potters book, which may*
 „ *any*

„ to say, that Ch. Ma. (4) had in his hands your Book
 „ twelue-months before it was published, which vpon
 „ my certaine knowledg is most vntrue.) But vpon
 „ carefull examination thereof, I finde that labour to
 „ be needles “. But we must remember that Mr
 Knott speaks thus confidently, in a Book publish'd in
 1652, nine years after the Death of Mr. Chilling-
 worth (5).

(4) That
 is, *Charity*
maintain-
ed; or ra-
 ther the
 Author of
 it, Mr.
 Knott.
 (5) See
 Rem.
 (NN).

„ *any way import*, and now at least to take
 „ notice of some (as it seemes to me)
 „ not unconsiderable passages of it, which
 „ betweene your first and second Part, as it
 „ were betweene two stooles, have beene
 „ suffer'd hitherto to fall to the ground,
 „ and not beene vouchsaf'd any answer
 „ at all “.

(p) pag.
393.

He enumerates those passages, and then concludes in these words: „ All these parts;
 „ *says he (p)*, of *Doctor Potter's* book,
 „ for reasons best known to your selfe, you
 „ have dealt with, as the Priest and Levite
 „ in the Gospell did with the wounded Sa-
 „ maritan, that is, *only look't upon them and*
 „ *pass'd by*: But now at least when you
 „ are admonish't of it, that my Reply to
 „ your second part (if you desire it,) may be
 „ perfect, I would entreat you to take them
 „ into your consideration, and to make
 „ some shew of saying something to them,
 „ lest otherwise the world should interpret
 „ your obstinate silence a plaine confession
 „ that you can say nothing “.

Having now given an Account of the historical, or rather personal, part of Mr. Chillingworth's Book; it may be expected I should say something of the Book it self.

And first, I must observe, that as Writers frequently complain (and often not without reason) that their Adversaries have misrepresented

represented their Arguments, or misreported their expressions: our Author to shew he had kept himself free from such an imputation, reprinted the first Part of Mr. Knott's Book intire, in his Answer. And the Jesuit having divided it into seven Chapters, he subjoyn'd a distinct and separate Answer to each Chapter, and likewise to the Preface.

Now, as to the Subject of the Book, or the Principles Mr. Chillingworth goes upon, they are suitable to his design, which, he declares in several places, is to vindicate, not any one particular Communion of Protestants, but the Protestants in general, from the aspersions and calumnies of the Jesuit. Accordingly, he asserts in his I. Chapter, that *Papists are uncharitable in condemning Protestants*: in the II, that *the Scripture, is the only Rule whereby to judge of Controversies*: III. that *no Church of one denomination is infallible*: IV. that *the Creed of the Apostles containes all necessary Points of meere beliefe*: V. that *the Religion of Protestants is a safer way to Salvation than the Religion of Papists*: VI. that *Protestants are not Heretiques*: and VII. that *they are not bound by the Charity which they owe to themselves, to re-unite themselves to the Roman Church*.

And this might be sufficient to give a notion

notion of our Author's Principles. However, I shall, for the further satisfaction of the Reader, set down here some few passages, as a specimen of his clear and masterly way of treating the matters before him.

What Mr. Chillingworth understands by the *Religion of Protestants*, he expresses thus: „ (q) When I say, the Religion of „ Protestants, is in prudence to be preferr'd „ before yours: as on the one side I doe „ not understand by your Religion, the „ doctrine of *Bellarmino* or *Baronius*, or „ any other private man amongst you, nor „ the Doctrine of the *Sorbon*, or of the „ *Iesuits*, or of the *Dominicans*, or of any „ other particular Company among you, „ but that wherein you all agree, or profess to agree, *the Doctrine of the Council of Trent*: so accordingly on the other „ side, by the *Religion of Protestants*, I „ doe not understand the Doctrine of *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Melancthon*; nor the „ confession of *Augusta*, or *Geneva*, nor „ the Catechisme of *Heidelberg*, nor the „ Articles of the Church of England, nor „ nor the *Harmony* of Protestant Confessions; but that wherein they all agree, „ and which they all subscribe with a „ greater Harmony, as a perfect rule of „ their Faith and Actions, that is, The „ BIBLE. The BIBLE, I say, The „ BIBLE

„ BIBLE only is the Religion of Pro-
 „ testants (GG). Whatsoever else they be-
 „ lieve besides it, and the plaine, irrefra-
 „ gable, indubitable consequences of it,
 „ well may they hold it as a matter of O-
 „ pinion, but as matter of Faith and Re-
 „ ligion, neither can they with coherence
 „ to their own grounds beleve it them-
 „ selves, nor require the beliefe of it of
 „ others, without most high and most Schif-
 „ maticall

(GG) *The Bible, I say, the Bible only, is the Religion of Protestants*]. What Mr. Chillingworth adds by way of illustration or consequence, viz. *Whatsoever else they beleve besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of Opinion; but as matter of Faith and Religion, neither can they with coherence to their own grounds believe it themselves, nor require the beliefe of it of others, without most high and schismaticall presumption*: this assertion, I say, is perfectly agreeable to the sense of the Church of England concerning the Sufficiency of the holy Scripture; as it appears by the VIth. Article of Religion, which declares, that the *Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may not be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation*. And as all Protestants agree in this with the Church of England, Mr. Chillingworth very justly affirms, that *the Bible only, is the Religion of Protestants*. The Bible, is the center of Unity of the Protestants; as the Pope, is the center of Unity of the

THE LIFE OF

„ maticall presumption. I for my part,
 „ *adds he*, after a long (and as I verily
 „ beleeve and hope,) impartiall search of
 „ *the true way to eternall happinesse*, doe
 „ professe plainly that I cannot find any rest
 „ for the sole of my foot, but upon this
 „ Rock only. I see plainly and with mine
 „ owne eyes, that there are Popes against
 „ Popes, Councells against Councells, some
 „ Fathers against others, the same Fathers
 „ against themselves, a Consent of Fathers
 „ of

Papists. And therefore this Principle of Mr. Chillingworth is universally receiv'd and acknowledged by the Protestants.

However Mr. Cressy is pleas'd to represent it as one of the *Novelties* (1), which Mr. Chillingworth hath introduced amongst them. " His second novelty, *says he* (2), is *that* whereas the *Protestants* alwayes professed that the publicke Confessions of their Churches faith, was indeede their owne faith, *that is*, such expressions plaine and indubitable as are in holy Scripture concerning such pointes, or at least irrefragable consequences from Scripture, and therefore were to them as Scripture, because their sence of Scripture; and *whereas* they respectively divided themselves from the Communion of the Catholique and other particular Churches, because they would not ioyn with them in the beleife of Scripture explained in that sence which their severall *Articles* import (and not because they refused to submit to Scripture, which all professe to doe.) And Lastly, *whereas* though they acknowledged Scripture to be the onely Rule of Faith, yet because *it* not having been written in forme of *Institutions* or a *Catechisme*,

(1) See Rem. (DD).

(2) *Exomologesis*, &c; pag. 406, 407, 408, of the 1. edit. and p. 297, 298, 299, of the 2^d.

of one age against a Consent of Fathers of
 another age, the Church of one age against
 the Church of another age. Traditive inter-
 pretations of Scripture are pretended, but
 there are few or none to be found: No
 Tradition but only of Scripture, can de-
 rive it selfe from the fountaine, but may
 be plainly prov'd, either to have been
 brought in, in such an age after Christ;
 or that in such an age it was not in. In

O 2

,, a word,

techisme, the necessary doctrines of Religion are dis-
 persed uncertainly in the severall bookes, difficulty
 to be found out of them, and withall not so plainly
 delivered but that there is neede of explication and
 conciliation with other passages of Scripture that
 seeme to contradict; for this reason each Church
 compiled *abridgments* and *confessions* disposed orderly
 and methodically, by which they signify to the world
 how they understand Scripture: Mr. Chillingworth
 on the contrary delivers their mind ioyntly for them
 after a new way (which is his *second Novelty*) which
 I will sett downe in his owne wordes: *By the Reli-*
gion of Protestants I doe not (sayth he) *understand the*
doctrine of Luther or Calvin or Melancton, nor the
Confession of Augusta, or Geneva, nor the Catechisme
of Heidelberg, nor the Articles of the Church of Eng-
land, no nor the Harmony of Protestant Confessions:
But that wherein they all agree, and which they all
subscribe with a greater Harmony, as a perfect Rule of
their faith and actions, that is The Bible, the Bible,
I say the Bible only is the Religion of Protestants:
Whatsoever else they beleive besides it, and the plaine,
irrefragable indubitable consequences of it, well may
 ,, they

Cap. 6. pa-
 rag. 56.

THE LIFE OF

„ a word, there is no sufficient certaintie
 „ but of Scripture only, for any consider-
 „ ing man to build upon. This therefore,
 „ and this only I have reason to beleieve:
 „ This I will professe, according to this I
 „ will live, and for this, if there be occa-
 „ sion, I will not only willingly, but even
 „ gladly loose my life, though I should be
 „ sorry that Christians should take it from
 „ me. Propose me any thing out of this
 „ book,

„ *they hold it as a matter of Opinion, But as a matter of*
 „ *Faith and Religion neither can they with coherence to*
 „ *their owne groundes beleive it themselves, nor require*
 „ *the beleife of it of others, without most high and most*
 „ *Schismaticall Præsumption.* Thus farre Mr. Chilling-
 „ worth. Now how farre other Protestants out of England,
 „ pursues Mr. Cressy, will approove of this *new shift*
 „ which *hee* ha's found out for them, and which, I am
 „ sure, he ha's published without any commission from
 „ them, I know not: But if *they* also iustify him in
 „ this, all I can say is that *they* will make their party
 „ much the stronger by it, and will likewise have rea-
 „ son to prætend to almost primitive Antiquity, for if
 „ all be of their body who, whatsoever their particular
 „ tenents be, build their faith upon onely-Scripture in-
 „ terpreted by each mans reason, then not onely all
 „ Hæretiques of these times, but likewise almost all
 „ Hæretiques since the Apostles time will be united in
 „ the same *corporation*.

To which I answer, 1. That Mr. Chillingworth's
 way, is in reality no *new way*, or no *Novelty*. For,
 tho'

„ book, and require whether I beleeeve it or
 „ no, and seeme it never so incomprehen-
 „ sible to humane reason, I will subscribe
 „ it with hand and heart, as knowing no
 „ demonstration can bee stronger than this,
 „ God hath said so, therefore it is true. In
 „ other things I will take no mans Libertie
 „ of judgement from him; neither shall any
 „ man take mine from me. I will think
 „ no man the worse man, nor the worse
 O 3 „ Christian :

tho' Protestants have drawn up *Confessions* of Faith, or *Articles* of Religion, as their respective *sense of the Scripture*; and have digested them into the form of *Institutions* and *Catechismes*: yet in all their *Confessions*, or *Articles*, they declare that the Scripture is the only Rule of Faith, by which those Confessions themselves are to be tryed; and therefore Mr. Chillingworth setting up the *Bible*, as the *Religion of Protestants*, says no more than all Protestants acknowledge.

2. As to Mr. Cressy's objection, *viz.* that Mr. Chillingworth *unites* the *Hereticks* of all ages in the same *Corporation*; it amounts only to this, that all persons or communions that acknowledge no Rule of Faith but the Scripture, are, in Mr. Cressy's Opinion, *Hereticks*, that is, not Papists; and that if they mistake the sense of the best rule Christians can have, this may be justly imputed to them as a crime. But then, must we therefore submit to the Pope's fallible Authority, and lay aside the Scripture, or make it subservient to the Pope's Decrees, because some Christians have misunderstood it? Have those sacred Writings lost any thing of their perfection and sufficiency, are they no longer a perfect
 infallible

„ Christian: I will love no man the leſſe,
 „ for differing in opinion from me. And
 „ what meaſure I meat to others I expect
 „ from them againe. I am fully aſſured
 „ that God does not, and therefore that men
 „ ought not to require any more of any
 „ man than this, to beleeve the Scripture
 „ to be Gods word, to endeavour to finde
 „ the true ſenſe of it, and to live according
 „ to it.

„ This

infallible Rule of our Faith, becauſe ſome men have miſtaken their meaning? To argue againſt the right uſe of a thing, from the ill uſe ſome have made of it, is a ſophiſtical way of reaſoning noted by all the Logicians.

And here I am ſorry to find one of our moſt celebrated Divines, making the ſame objections with Mr. Creſſy. „ As to Mr. *Chillingworth*, ſays Dr. Hare (3), „ he is confeſſedly an excellent Writer; but it may, I „ think, with great truth be ſaid, that he was much a- „ bler at pulling down than building up; towards which „ little can be expected of a man who is by his own „ arguments pushed ſo home in the defence he would „ make of *Proteſtantism*, that he hath nothing left, but „ to cry out the BIBLE. The Bible, I ſay, the Bible is „ the Religion of *Proteſtants*; and ſo ſay all the *Here-* „ *ticks* and *Schiſmaticks* that ever were.

(3) *Scripture vindicated from the Objections of the L^d Biſhop of Bangor, &c; Preface, p. xxxi.*

Dr. Hare's firſt aſſertion, that Mr. Chillingworth was much abler at pulling down than building up, hath been, I think, ſufficiently examin'd in another place (4). This he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth's declaring that the BIBLE only is the Religion of *Proteſtants*. As if the removing

(4) See Rem. (EE).

„ This is, *pursues he* (r), the Religion (r) *Ibid.*
 „ which I have chosen after a long delibe- §. 57.
 „ ration, and I am verily perswaded that I
 „ have chosen wisely, much more wisely
 „ than if I had guided my selfe according to
 „ your Churches authoritie. For the Scrip-
 „ ture being all true, I am secur'd by be-
 „ leev'ing nothing else, that I shall beleve
 „ no falshood as matter of Faith. And if
 „ I mistake the sense of Scripture, and so
 O 4 „ fall

removing the rubbish with which wanton or wicked men had almost buried the edifice of Christianity, were pulling down the edifice it self! The Doctor next intimates, that Mr. Chillingworth not being able to *defend* the *Protestant Religion* otherwise, was forced to retreat to the Scripture, the usual shift and resort of *all Hereticks* and *Schismatics*. But have *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* nothing in common with other men, which is good? or doth any thing loose its good qualities, the instant they make use of it? Is Reason no longer the rule of human actions, because all men appeal to it, and weak or mad men pretend to be govern'd by it? Or ought the Scripture to cease to be the Religion of Protestants because *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* say likewise that it is agreeable to their notions? And since Protestants utterly deny the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, as well as of Councils, Fathers, and Tradition; and do not pretend themselves to any infallible Authority; what have they left for the foundation of their Faith, but the infallible Authority of the Scripture? Therefore, they, as well as Mr. Chillingworth, are reduced to the BIBLE, and must *cry out* with him the BIBLE: *the Bible only is the Religion of Protestants.*

THE LIFE OF

„ fall into errour, yet am I secure from
 „ any danger thereby, if but your grounds
 „ be true: because endeavouring to find
 „ the true sense of Scripture, I cannot but
 „ hold my errour without pertinacy, and
 „ be readie to forsake it when a more true
 „ and a more probable sense shall appear
 „ unto mee. And then all necessarie truth
 „ being, as I have prov'd, plainly set downe
 „ in Scripture, I am certain by believ'ing
 „ Scripture, to believe all necessarie Truth:
 „ And he that does so, if his life be answer-
 „ able to his faith, how is it possible he
 „ should faile of Salvation?

Mr. Knott urged some arguments to prove the necessity of a visible Judge of Controversies; and among other things objected that in Civil Societys, it is *very necessary, that, besides the Law-maker speaking in the Law, there should be other Judges to determine Civil and Criminal Controversies, and to give every Man that justice which the Law allows him*; Mr. Chillingworth grants it: but at the same time observes, that the Argument his Adversary draws from hence, to shew the necessity of a visible Judge in Controversies of Religion, is sophistical (HH).

Mr.

(HH). *Mr. Chillingworth shews that the Argument his adversary draws from hence is sophistical*. „ The

Mr. Knott having put this question in his Preface, *How can Lutherans, Calvinists, Zuinglians, and all the rest of disagreeing Protestants, hope for salvation, since some* of

„ Law-maker, says he (1), *speaking in the Law, I grant* (1) Chap.
 „ *it, is no more easily understood than the Law it self,* II. §. 13.
 „ *for his speech is nothing else but the Law: I grant it* — 23.
 „ *very necessary, that besides the Law-maker speaking in*
 „ *the Law, there should be other Judges to determine Ci-*
 „ *vill and Criminall Controversies, and to give every man*
 „ *that Justice which the Law allowes him. But your*
 „ *Argument drawne from hence to shew a necessity of*
 „ *a Visible Judge in Controversies of Religion, I say*
 „ *is Sophisticall: and that for many Reasons.*

„ First, Because the variety of Civill cases is infinite,
 „ and therefore there cannot be possibly Lawes enough
 „ provided for the determination of them: and there-
 „ fore there must be a Judge to supply out of the Prin-
 „ ciples of Reason the interpretation of the Law where
 „ it is defective. But the Scripture (we say) is a per-
 „ fect Rule of Faith, and therefore needs no supply
 „ of the defects of it.

„ Secondly, To execute the Letter of the Law, ac-
 „ cording to rigor, would be many times unjust, and
 „ therefore there is need of a Judge to moderate it;
 „ whereof in Religion there is no use at all.

„ Thirdly, In Civill and Criminall causes the par-
 „ ties have for the most part so much interest, and very
 „ often so little honesty, that they will not submit to a
 „ Law though never so plaine, if it be against them;
 „ or will not see it to be against them, though it be so
 „ never so plainly; whereas if men were honest, and
 „ the Law were plaine and extended to all cases, there
 „ would

of them must needs erre against some Truth testified by God? our Author answers thus:

(s) *The
Answer to
the Preface,
§. 26.*

„ The most disagreeing Protestants that are,
„ *says he (s)*, yet thus so far agree; 1. That
„ these

„ would be little need of Judges. Now in matters of
„ Religion, when the Question is, whether every man
„ be a fit Judge and chooser for himselfe, we suppose
„ men honest, and such as understand the difference
„ between a Moment and Eternity. And such men
„ we conceive, will think it highly concernes them to
„ be of the true Religion, but nothing at all that this
„ or that Religion should be the true. And then we
„ suppose that all the necessary points of Religion are
„ plaine and easie, and consequently every man in this
„ cause to be a competent Judge for himselfe; because
„ it concernes himselfe to judge right as much as eter-
„ nall happinesse is worth. And if through his own
„ default he judge amisse, he alone shall suffer for
„ it.

„ Fourthly, In Civill Controversies we are obliged
„ only to externall passive obedience, and not to an
„ internal and active. We are bound to obey the sen-
„ tence of the Judge, or not to resist it, but not al-
„ wayes to beleieve it just. But in matters of Religi-
„ on, such a Judge is required whom we should be o-
„ bliged to beleieve, to have judged right. So that in
„ Civill Controversies every honest understanding man
„ is fit to be a Judge; But in Religion none but he that
„ is infallible.

„ Fifthly, In Civill Causes there is meanes and pow-
„ er, when the Judge hath decreed to compell men to
„ obey his sentence: otherwise, I beleieve Lawes alone,
„ would be to as much purpose for the ending of dif-
„ ferences,

„ these Bookes of Scripture which were
 „ never doubted of in the Church, are the
 „ undoubted Word of God, and a perfect
 „ rule of faith. 2. That the sense of them,
 „ which

„ ferences, as Lawes and Judges both. But all the
 „ power in the world is neither fit to convince, nor
 „ able to compell a mans conscience to consent to any
 „ thing. Worldly terrour may prevaile so far as to
 „ make men professe a Religion which they beleeve
 „ not, (such men I meane, who know not that there is
 „ a Heaven provided for Martyrs, and a Hell for those
 „ that dissemble such Truths as are necessary to be pro-
 „ fessed:) But to force, either any man to beleeve what
 „ he beleeves not, or any honest man to dissemble what
 „ he does beleeve (if God commands him to professe
 „ it,) or to professe what he does not beleeve, all the
 „ Powers in the World are too weak, with all the
 „ Powers of Hell to assist them.

„ Sixthly, In Civill Controversies the case cannot
 „ be so put, but there may be a Judge to end it, who
 „ is not a party: In Controversies of Religion, it is in
 „ a manner impossible to be avoided but the Judge must
 „ be a party. For this must be the first, whether he be
 „ a Judge or no, and in that he must be a party. Sure
 „ I am, the Pope, in the Controversies of our time, is
 „ a chiefe party; for it highly concernes him, even as
 „ much as his Popedome is worth, not to yeeld any
 „ one point of his Religion to be erroneous. And he
 „ is a man subject to like passions with other men.
 „ And therefore wee may justly decline his sentence,
 „ for feare temporall respects should either blinde his
 „ judgement, or make him pronounce against it.

„ Seaventhly,

THE LIFE OF

„ which God intended, whatsoever it is, is
 „ certainly true. So that they beleevē im-
 „ plicitely even those very Truths against
 „ which they erre; and why an implicate
 „ faith

„ Seaventhly, In Civill Controversies, it is impossi-
 „ ble *Titius* should hold the land in question and *Sem-*
 „ *pronius* too: and therefore either the Plaintiffe must
 „ injure the Defendant, by disquieting his Possession,
 „ or the Defendant wrong the Plaintiffe by keeping his
 „ right from him. But in Controversies of Religion
 „ the Case is otherwise. I may hold my opinion and
 „ do you no wrong, and you yours and do me
 „ none. Nay we may both of us hold our opinion;
 „ and yet doe our selves no harme; provided, the dif-
 „ ference be not touching any thing necessary to salva-
 „ tion, and that we love truth so well, as to be dili-
 „ gent to informe our Conscience, and constant in
 „ following it.

„ Eighthly, For the deciding of Civill Controver-
 „ sies men may appoint themselves a judge. But in
 „ matters of Religion, this office may bee given to
 „ none but whom God hath designed for it: who doth
 „ not alwayes give us those things which wee conceive
 „ most expedient for our selves.

„ Ninthly, and Lastly, For the ending of Civill
 „ Controversies, who does not see it is absolutely ne-
 „ cessary, that not only Judges should be appointed,
 „ but that it should be known and unquestioned who
 „ they are: Thus all the Judges of our Land are known
 „ men, knowne to be Judges, and no man can doubt
 „ or question, but these are the Men. Otherwise if it
 „ were a disputable thing, who were these Judges, and
 „ they had no certaine warrant for their Authority,
 „ but

„ faith in Christ and his Word, should not
 „ suffice as well as an implicate faith in
 „ your Church? I have desired to be resol-
 „ ved by many of your Side, but never
 „ could. 3. That they are to use their best
 „ endeavours to beleeve the Scripture in
 „ the true sense, and to live according to
 „ it. This if they performe (as I hope ma-
 „ ny on all Sides doe) truly and sincerely,
 „ it is impossible but that they should be-
 „ leeve

„ but only some Topicall congruities, would not
 „ any man say such Judges, in all likelihood,
 „ would rather multiply Controversies, than end
 „ them? So likewise if our Saviour, the King of
 „ Heaven, had intended that all Controversies in Reli-
 „ gion should be by some Visible Judge finally deter-
 „ mined, who can doubt, but in plain termes he would
 „ have expressed himselfe about this matter? He would
 „ have said plainly, *The Bishop of Rome I have appoint-*
 „ *ed to decide all emergent Controversies.* For that our
 „ Saviour designed the *Bishop of Rome* to this Office,
 „ and yet would not say so, nor cause it to be writ-
 „ ten—*ad Rei memoriam*——by any of the *Evange-*
 „ *lists* or *Apostles*, so much as once; but leave it to be
 „ drawn out of uncertain Principles, by thirteen or
 „ fourteen more uncertain Consequences, He that can
 „ beleeve it, let him.

„ All these Reasons, I hope will convince you, that
 „ though wee have, and have great necessity of Judges
 „ in Civill and Criminall causes: yet you may not con-
 „ clude from thence, that there is any publique autho-
 „ rized Judge to determine Controversies in Religion,
 „ nor any necessity there should be any.

„ leeve aright in all things necessary to
 „ salvation ; that is, in all those things
 „ which appertain to the Covenant between
 „ God and man in Christ, for so much, is
 „ not only plainly but frequently contained
 „ in Scripture (*HHΔ*). And beleeving a-
 „ right touching the Covenant, if they for
 „ their parts perform the condition requir-
 „ ed of them, which is sincere obedience,
 „ why should they not expect that God will
 „ performe

(*HHΔ*) *All those things which appertain to the Covenant between God and Man in Christ are not only plainly but frequently contained in Scripture.*] Mr. Knott having inadvertently upon Archbishop Usher, for saying, *That in those Propositions which without all controuersy are universally receiued in the whole Christian world, so much Truth is contained, as being joyned with holy Obedience, may be sufficient to bring a man to euerlasting salvation; Neither have we cause to doubt, but that as many as walk according to this Rule (neither ouerthrowing that which they haue builded, by superinducing any damnable heresies thereupon, nor otherwise vitiating their holy sayth, with a lewd and wicked conuersation) peace shall be vpon them, and vpon the Israel of God:* Mr. Chillingworth answers, among other things, that „ the say-

(1) Chap. „ ing (1) of that most learned Prelate, and excellent
 IV. §. 39, „ man, the *Arch-Bishop of Armach*, is . . . as great, and
 40. „ as good a Truth, and as necessary for these miserable
 „ times, as possibly can be uttered. For this is most
 „ certain, and I beleeve you will easily grant it, that
 „ to reduce Christians to Unity of Communion, there
 „ are but two waies that may be conceived probable:
 „ The one, by taking away diversity of Opinions
 „ touching

„ performe his promise and give them sal-
 „ vation? For, as for other things which
 „ lie without the Covenant, and are there-
 „ fore lesse necessary, if by reason of the
 „ seeming conflict which is oftentimes be-
 „ tween Scripture and Reason, and Au-
 „ thority on the one Side, and Scripture,
 „ Reason, and Authority on the other; if
 „ by reason of the variety of tempers, abi-
 „ lities, educations, and unavoidable pre-
 „ judices,

„ touching matters of Religion: The other, by shew-
 „ ing that the diversity of Opinions, which is among
 „ the severall Sects of Christians, ought to be no hin-
 „ derance to their Unity in Communion.

„ Now the former of these is not to be hoped for with-
 „ out a miracle, unlesse that could be done, which is
 „ impossible to be performed, though it be often pre-
 „ tended; that is, unlesse it could be made evident to
 „ all men, that God hath appointed some visible Judge
 „ of Controversies, to whose judgment all men are
 „ to submit themselves. What then remains, but that
 „ the other way must be taken, and Christians must be
 „ taught to set a higher value upon these high Points
 „ of Faith and Obedience wherein they agree, than
 „ upon these matters of lesse moment wherein they
 „ differ, and understand that agreement in those, ought
 „ to be more effectuell to joyne them in one Commu-
 „ nion, than their difference in other things of lesse
 „ moment to divide them? When I say, *in one Com-*
 „ *munion*, I meane, in a common Profession of those
 „ Articles of Faith, wherein all consent: A joynt
 „ worship of God, after such a way as all esteem law-
 „ full;

THE LIFE OF

„ judices, whereby mens understandings are
 „ variously formed and fashioned, they do
 „ embrace severall Opinions, whereof some
 „ must be erroneous ; to say that God will
 „ damn them for such Errors, who are lo-
 „ vers of Him, and lovers of Truth, is to
 „ rob man of his comfort, and God of his
 „ goodnesse ; is to make Man desperate, and
 „ God a Tyrant. *But they deny Truths*
 „ *testified by God, and therefore shall be*
 „ *damned.*

„ full ; and a mutuall performance of all those works
 „ of Charity, which Christians owe one to another.
 „ And to such a Communion what better inducement
 „ could be thought of, than to demonstrate that what
 „ was universally beleaved of all Christians, if it were
 „ joyned with a love of truth, and with holy obedience,
 „ was sufficient to bring men to heaven ? For why
 „ should men be more rigid than God ? Why should
 „ any error exclude any man from the Churches Com-
 „ munion, which will not deprive him of eternal Sal-
 „ vation ? Now that Christians doe generally agree in
 „ all those Points of Doctrine, which are necessary to
 „ Salvation, it is apparent, because they agree with one
 „ accord, in beleiving all those Books of the Old and
 „ New Testament, which in the Church were never
 „ doubted of to be the undoubted Word of God. And
 „ it is so certain that in all these Books, all necessary
 „ Doctrines are evidently contained, that of all the
 „ foure Evangelists this is very probable, but of S.
 „ *Luke* most apparent, that in every one of their Books
 „ they have comprehended the whole substance of the
 „ Gospell of Christ. For what reason can be imagin-
 „ ed,

„ *damned*. Yes, if they knew them to be
 „ thus testified by him, and yet would de-
 „ ny them, that were to give God the lye,
 „ and questionlesse damnable. But if you
 „ should deny a truth which God had testi-
 „ fied but only to a man in the *Indies*, (as
 „ I said before) and this testification you
 „ had never heard of, or at least had no suf-
 „ ficient reason to beleeeve that God had so
 „ testified, would not you think it a hard
 „ case

„ ed, that any of them should leave out any thing
 „ which he knew to be necessary, and yet (as appa-
 „ rently all of them have done) put in many things
 „ which they knew to be onely profitable and not ne-
 „ cessary? What wise and honest man that were now
 „ to write the Gospell of Christ, would do so great a
 „ work of God after such a negligent fashion? Sup-
 „ pose *Xaverius* had been to write the Gospell of Christ
 „ for the Indians, thinke you he would have left out
 „ any Fundamentall Doctrine of it? If not, I must
 „ beseech you to conceive as well of S. *Matthew*, and
 „ S. *Mark*, and S. *Luke*, and S. *Iohn*, as you do of *Xa-*
 „ *verius*. Besides, if every one of them have not in
 „ them all necessary Doctrines, how have they com-
 „ plied with their own designe, which was, as the ti-
 „ tles of their Bookes shew, to write *the Gospell of*
 „ *Christ*, and not a part of it? Or how have they not
 „ deceived us, in giving them such titles? By the whole
 „ Gospell of Christ, I understand not the whole His-
 „ tory of Christ, but all that makes up the Covenant
 „ between God and man. Now if this be wholly con-
 „ tained in the Gospell of S. *Marke* and S. *Iohn*, I be-
 „ lieve

„ case to be damned for such a deniall ?
 „ Yet consider I pray a little more attentive-
 „ ly the difference between them, and you
 „ will presently acknowledge, the question
 „ between them is not at any time, or in
 „ any thing, Whether God sayes true or
 „ no ? or whether he sayes this or no ? But
 „ supposing he sayes this, and sayes true,
 „ whether he meanes this or no ? As for
 „ example, between *Lutherans, Calvinists,*
 „ and

„ leeve every considering man will bee inclinable to
 „ beleve that then without doubt, it is contained, with
 „ the advantage of many other very profitable things,
 „ in the larger Gospels of *S. Matthew* and *S. Luke*.

He shews afterwards, that *all that makes up the Cove-*
nant between God and Man, is wholly contained in either
 of the Gospels of *St. Marke,* and *St. John*; and pro-
 ceeds thus:

(2) Ibid.
 §. 43.

„ This which (2) hath been spoken (I hope) is e-
 „ nough to justify my undertaking to the full, that it
 „ is very probable that every one of the foure Evange-
 „ lists hath in his Book the whole substance, all the ne-
 „ cessary parts of the Gospell of Christ. But for *S.*
 „ *Luke,* that he hath written such a perfect Gospell,
 „ in my judgement it ought to bee with them that be-
 „ leeve him, no maner of question. Consider first the
 „ introduction to his Gospell, where he declares what
 „ he intends to write, in these words, *For as much as*
 „ *many have taken in hand to set forth in order a decla-*
 „ *ration of those things, which are most surely beleaved*
 „ *amongst us, even as they delivered unto us, which from*
 „ *the beginning were eye-witnesses, & Ministers of the*
 „ *Word,*

„ and *Zwinglians*, it is agreed that Christ
 „ spake these words, *This is my Body*;
 „ and that whatsoever he meant in saying
 „ so is true: But what he meant and how
 „ he is to be understood, that is the que-
 „ stion. So that though some of them de-
 „ ny a Truth by God intended, yet you
 „ can with no Reason or Justice accuse
 „ them of denying the truth of Gods Tes-
 „ timony, unlesse you can plainly shew that

P 2

„ God

„ *Word*, it seemed good to me also, having had perfect
 „ understanding of things from the first, to write to thee
 „ in order, most excellent *Theophilus*, that thou mightest
 „ know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast
 „ been instructed. Adde to this place, the entrance to
 „ his *History of the Acts of the Apostles*: *The former*
 „ *Treatise have I made*, O *Theophilus*, of all that *Iesus*
 „ began both to doe and teach, untill the day in which he
 „ was taken up. Weigh well these two places, and
 „ then answer me freely and ingenuously to these de-
 „ mands. 1. Whether *S. Luke* doth not undertake the
 „ very same thing which hee sayes, *many had taken in*
 „ *hand*? 2. Whether this were not to set forth in or-
 „ der, a declaration of those things which are most surely
 „ beleaved amongst *Christians*? 3. Whether the whole
 „ Gospel of Christ, and every necessary Doctrine of
 „ it, were not surely beleaved among *Christians*? 4.
 „ Whether they which were *Eye-witnesses* and *Mini-*
 „ *sters of the Word* from the beginning, delivered not
 „ the whole Gospel of Christ? 5. Whether hee doth
 „ not undertake to write in order these things whereof
 „ hee had perfect understanding from the first? 6. Whe-

„ ther

THE LIFE OF

„ God hath declared, and that plainly and
 „ clearly, what was his meaning in these
 „ words. I say *plainly and clearly*. For
 „ he that speaks obscurely and ambiguously,
 „ ly, and no where declares himselfe plainly,
 „ ly, sure he hath no reason to bee much
 „ offended if he be mistaken. When therefore
 „ you can shew, that in this and all
 „ other their Controversies, God hath inter-
 „ posed his Testimony on one Side or o-
 „ ther;

„ ther hee had not perfect understanding of the whole
 „ Gospell of Christ? 7. Whether hee doth not under-
 „ take to write to *Theophilus* of all those things *where-*
 „ *in he had been instructed*? 8. And whether he had
 „ not been instructed in all the necessary parts of the
 „ Gospell of Christ? 9. Whether in the other Text, *All*
 „ *things which Iesus began to doe and teach*, must not at
 „ least imply, all the Principall and necessary things?
 „ 10. Whether this be not the very interpretation of
 „ your Rhemish Doctors, in their Annotation upon
 „ this place? 11. Whether all these Articles of the
 „ Christian faith, without the beleefe whereof, no man
 „ can be saved, be not the Principall and most neces-
 „ sary things which *Iesus* taught? 12. And lastly,
 „ whether many things which *S. Luke* hath wrote in
 „ his Gospell, bee not lesse principall, and lesse neces-
 „ sary than all and every one of these? When you
 „ have well considered these proposalls, I beleieve you
 „ will bee very apt to thinke (if *S. Luke* be of credit
 „ with you) That all things necessary to salvation, are
 „ certainly contained in his writings alone. And from
 „ hence you will not choose but conclude, that seeing
 „ all

„ ther ; so that either they doe see it, and
 „ will not ; or were it not for their own
 „ voluntary and avoidable fault, might &
 „ should see it and doe not ; let all such
 „ Errors be as damnable as you please to
 „ make them. In the mean while, if they
 „ suffer themselves neither to bee betraid
 „ into their Errors, nor kept in them by
 „ any sin of their will ; if they doe their
 „ best endeavour to free themselves from
 „ all Errors, and yet faile of it through
 „ humane frailty ; so well am I perswaded
 „ of the goodnesse of God, that if in me
 „ alone, should meet a confluence of all
 „ such Errors of all the Protestants in the
 „ World, that were thus qualified, I should
 P 3 „ not

„ all the Christians in the world, agree in the beleeefe
 „ of what S. Luke hath written, and not only so, but
 „ in all other Bookes of Canonickall Scripture, which
 „ were never doubted of in and by the Church, the
 „ Learned Arch-Bishop had very just and certain ground
 „ to say, *That in these Propositions, which without Con-*
 „ *troversie are universally received in the whole Christli-*
 „ *an world, so much truth is contained, as being joyned*
 „ *with holy obedience, may be sufficient to bring a man*
 „ *to everlasting Salvation ; and that we have no cause to*
 „ *doubt, but that as many as walk according to this rule,*
 „ *neither overthrowing that which they have builded, by*
 „ *superinducing any damnable Heresie thereupon, nor*
 „ *otherwise vitiating their holy Faith, with a lewd and*
 „ *wicked conversation, peace shall be upon them, and up-*
 „ *on the Israel of God.*

„ not be so much afraid of them all, as I
 „ should be to ask pardon for them, &c.

Dr. Potter had asserted, that *the Creed of the Apostles is a sufficient summary or Catalogue of fundamentalls*; whereupon our Jesuit objected that, *because not to beleieve the Articles of the Creed in the true sense is damnable, therefore it is frivolous to say the Creed containes all Fundamentalls, without specifying in what sense the Articles of it are fundamentall*; to which Mr. Chillingworth returns the following Answer: „ I an-

(t) Chap.
 IV. §. 16.

„ swer, *says he* (t), that you find fault with
 „ D. Potter for his Vertues: you are offend-
 „ ed with him for not usurping the Autho-
 „ rity which he hath not; in a word, for
 „ not playing the *Pope*. Certainly if Pro-
 „ testants be faulty in this matter, it is for
 „ doing it too much, and not too little.
 „ This presumptuous imposing of the sen-
 „ ses of men upon the words of God, the
 „ speciall senses of men upon the generall
 „ words of God, and laying them upon
 „ mens consciences together, under the e-
 „ quall penaltie of death, and damnation;
 „ this Vaine conceit that we can speak of
 „ the things of God, better than in the
 „ word of God: This Deifying our owne
 „ Interpretations, and Tyrannous inforcing
 „ them upon others; This restraining of the
 „ word of God from that latitude and ge-
 „ nerality, and the understandings of men
 „ from

„ from that liberty, wherein Christ and
 „ the Apostles left them, ^a is, and hath been ^a This
 „ the onely fountaine of all the Schismes ^a perswas-
 „ of the Church, and that which makes ^a on is no
 „ them immortall: the common incendi- ^a singularity
 „ ary of Christendome, and that which (as ^a of mine,
 „ I said before) teares into pieces, not the ^a but the
 „ coat, but the bowels, and members of ^a doctrine
 „ Christ: *Ridente Turcâ nec dolente Iudæo*. ^a which I
 „ Take away these Walls of separation, and ^a have learn-
 „ all will quickly be one. Take away ^a ed from
 „ this *Persecuting, Burning, Cursing, Damn-* ^a Divines
 „ *ing* of men for not subscribing to the ^a of great
 „ *words of men*, as the words of God; Re- ^a learning
 „ quire of Christians onely to beleieve Christ, ^a and judg-
 „ and to call no man Master but him one- ^a ment. Let
 „ ly; Let those leave claiming Infallibility ^a the Reader
 „ that have no title to it, and let them that ^a be pleased
 „ in their words disclaime it, disclaime it ^a to peruse
 „ likewise in their actions. In a word, take ^a the sea-
 „ away Tyrannie, which is the Devils in- ^a venth
 „ strument to support errors, and supersti- ^a book of
 „ tions, and impieties, in the severall parts ^a *Acont. de*
 „ of the world, which could not otherwise ^a *Strat. Sa-*
 „ long withstand the power of Truth, I say ^a *tana. And*
 „ take away Tyrannie, and restore Christi- ^a *Zanch.* his
 „ ans to their just and full liberty of cap- ^a last *Oratio*
 „ tivating their understanding to Scripture ^a delivered
 „ onely, and as Rivers when they have a ^a by him af-
 „ free passage, runne all to the Ocean, so ^a ter the
 „ it may well be hoped by Gods blessing, ^a composing
 „ that Universall Liberty thus moderated, ^a of the dis-
 „ cord be-
 „ tweene
 „ him and
 „ *Amerba-*
 „ *chius*, and
 „ he shal
 „ confesse as
 „ much.

„ may quickly reduce Christendome to
 „ Truth and Unitie. These thoughts of
 „ peace (I am perswaded) may come from
 „ the God of peace, and to his blessing I
 „ commend them.

Mr. Knott speaking of *Luther and our Reformers*, said, that they *indeavoured to force the society whereof they were parts to be healed and reformed as they were; and if it refused, they did, when they had power, drive them away, even their superiors both Spirituall and Temporall as is notorious*: but this being but a bare assertion; „ The „ proofes hercof, says *Mr. Chillingworth* „ (n), are wanting, and therefore I might „ defer my answer untill they were pro- „ duced; yet take this before hand: If they „ did so, then herein, in my opinion, they „ did amisse; for I have learnt from the „ ancient Fathers of the Church, that *no- thing is more against Religion than to force Religion*; and of *S. Paul, the wea- pons of the Christian warfare are not car- nall*. And great reason, For humane vi- „ olence may make men counterfeit, but can- „ not make them beleeve, and is therefore „ fit for nothing but to breed forme with- „ out, and Atheisme within. Besides, if „ this means of bringing men to embrace „ any Religion were generally used (as if „ it may be justly used in any place by „ those that have power, and thinke they „ have

(n) Chap.
 V, §. 96.

„ have truth, certainly they cannot with
 „ reason deny but that it may be u-
 „ sed in every place, by those that have
 „ power as well as they, and think they
 „ have truth as well as they,) what could
 „ follow but the maintenance perhaps of
 „ truth, but perhaps only of the profession
 „ of it in one place, and the oppression of
 „ it in a hundred? What will follow from
 „ it but the preservation peradventure of
 „ unity, but peradventure only of unifor-
 „ mity in particular States and Churches;
 „ but the immortalizing the greater and
 „ more lamentable divisions of Christen-
 „ dome and the world? And therefore what
 „ can follow from it, but perhaps in the
 „ judgement of carnall policie, the tempo-
 „ rall benefit and tranquility of temporall
 „ States and Kingdomes, but the infinite
 „ prejudice, if not the desolation of the
 „ Kingdome of Christ? And therefore it
 „ well becomes them who have their por-
 „ tions in this life, who serve no higher
 „ State than that of *England*, or *Spaine*, or
 „ *France*, nor this neither any further than
 „ they may serve themselves by it; who
 „ think of no other happinesse but the pre-
 „ servation of their owne fortunes and tran-
 „ quility in this world; who think of no
 „ other means to preserve States, but hu-
 „ mane power and Machivillian policie,
 „ and beleeve no other Creed but this, *Regi*
 „ aut.

„ *aut Civitati imperium habenti nihil in-*
 „ *justum, quod utile!* Such men as these it
 „ may become to maintaine by worldly
 „ power and violence their State instrument,
 „ Religion. For if all be vaine and false,
 „ (as in their judgement it is) the present
 „ whatsoever, is better than any, because it
 „ is already settled: and alteration of it
 „ may draw with it change of States, and
 „ the change of State the subversion of
 „ their fortune. But they that are indeed
 „ servants and lovers of Christ, of truth,
 „ of the Church, and of mankind, ought
 „ with all courage to oppose themselves a-
 „ gainst it, as a common enemy of all these.
 „ They that know there is a King of Kings,
 „ and Lord of Lords, by whose will and
 „ pleasure Kings and Kingdomes stand and
 „ fall, they know, that to no King or State
 „ any thing can bee profitable which is un-
 „ just; and that nothing can bee more evi-
 „ dently unjust, than to force weake men
 „ by the profession of a Religion which
 „ they beleeve not, to loose their owne
 „ eternall happinesse, out of a vaine and
 „ needlesse feare, lest they may possibly di-
 „ sturb their temporall quietnesse. There
 „ being no danger to any state from any
 „ mans opinion; unlesse it be such an opi-
 „ nion by which disobedience to authori-
 „ ty, or impiety is taught or licenc'd, which
 „ sort, I confesse may justly be punished as
 „ well

„ well as other faults ; or unlesse this fan-
 „ guinary doctrine be joyn'd with it, that
 „ it is lawfull for him by humane violence
 „ to enforce others to it. Therefore if
 „ Protestants did offer violence to other
 „ mens consciences and compell them to
 „ embrace their Reformation, I excuse them
 „ not : much lesse if they did so to the sa-
 „ cred Persons of Kings, and those that
 „ were in authority over them, who ought
 „ to be so secur'd from violence, that even
 „ their unjust and tyrannous violence, though
 „ it may be avoided (according to that of
 „ our Saviour, *When they persecute you in*
 „ *one City flie into another,*) yet may it not
 „ be resisted by opposing violence against
 „ it. Protestants therefore that were guilty
 „ of this crime are not to be excused, and
 „ blessed had they beene had they chosen
 „ rather to be Martyrs than murderers, and
 „ to die for their religion rather than to
 „ fight for it.

Then he shews how impertinent and ri-
 diculous was such an accusation, in the
 mouth of a Papist. „ But of all the men
 „ in the world, *says he*, you are most un-
 „ fit to accuse them hercof, against whom
 „ the soules of the Martyrs from under the
 „ Altar cry much lowder than against all
 „ their other Persecutors together : Who
 „ for these many ages together have daily
 „ sacrificed *Hecatombes* of innocent Chri-
 „ stians,

„ stians, under the name of Heretiques, to
 „ your blind zeale and furious superstition.
 „ Who teach plainly, that you may propa-
 „ gate your Religion whensoever you have
 „ power by deposing of Kings and invasi-
 „ on of Kingdomes, and think when you
 „ kill the adversaries of it, you *doe God good*
 „ *service*. But for their departing corpo-
 „ rally from them, whom mentally they
 „ had forsaken: For their forsaking the
 „ externall Communion and company of
 „ the unreformed part of the Church, in
 „ their superstitions and impieties: thus
 „ much of your accusation we embrace and
 „ glory in it; And say though some Prote-
 „ stants might offend in the manner or de-
 „ gree of their separation, yet certainly their
 „ separation it selfe was not Schismaticall,
 „ but innocent, and not only so, but just
 „ and necessary.

And this may serve, to give the Reader
 a taste of Mr. Chillingworth's Principles,
 style, and manner of arguing. His Book
 was receiv'd with a general applause: and
 what perhaps never happen'd to any other
 Controversial Work of that bulk, two Edi-
 tions of it were publish'd within less than
 five Months (x); and it hath been reprinted

(x) See
 Rem. (II).

several times, since the Restoration (II).

On

(II) *Two editions of it were publish'd within less than five months, and it hath been reprinted several times since*

On the other side, Mr. Knott seeing that he had not been able to deterr Mr. Chillingworth from publishing his Answer, tryed once more to prejudice the Publick against it, wherein he was seconded by some other Jesuits. I shall give here an account of these pieces, which are now very scarce.

In the year 1638, Mr. Knott put out a Pamphlet, intituled, *Christianity maintained. Or a Discouery of sundry Doctrines tend-*
ing

the Restoration]. The quick sale of a Book, and especially of a Book of Controversy, *in folio*, is a good proof that the Author hit the taste of his time. And yet upon a change of that taste or humour, the Book may never come to a second edition, and be neglected, tho' sometimes undeservedly. But when after frequent impressions of such a work, it is still much enquired after; if this be not a certain demonstration, it is, at least, a high presumption, of the excellency of that performance. And this is the case of Mr. Chillingworth's Book, and will continue so, as long as sense, reason, and Protestant Liberty, are preserved in England. I shall give here an account of the several Editions of it.

1. The first was printed at Oxford, in the year 1638, as the title tells us; but besides that it is usual to Book-sellers, when they put out a Book towards the latter end of the year, to prefix before it the date of the year ensuing; that edition must certainly have been printed, and even publish'd some time before the year 1638. For the *imprimatur* of the second edition is dated Feb. 6. 1637, and supposing the first was publish'd the 1. day of January,

THE LIFE OF

ing to the Ouerthrowe of the Christian Religion: contayned in the Answer to a Booke entituled, Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintayned by Catholiques (y). And here he charges Mr. Chillingworth with the ouerthrowe of Christian Religion, because he oppos'd the Principles of the Church of Rome! But, after all, he says no more here, than what he had affirm'd in his former Pamphlet, that the infallible Authority of

(y) Printed at St. Omer, in 4^o pagg. 86.

January, it must then have been very near sold off, in five weeks time; which is hardly credible. Besides, it appears by Mr. Lacy's Book call'd *The Church conquerant over human Wit* (1), that the second edition was publish'd in April 1638: for, he refers to that edition in his Book, and at the same time, tells us in the *Advertisement*, that it was to the last word and syllable thereof, reviewed, and ready for the print long since, even in April of this yeere 1638.

(1) Printed in 1638. See Rem. (LL).

2. The second edition, came out at London, with some few small improvements, in the year 1638, with the *imprimatur* of Dr. Samuel Baker, Chaplain to Dr. Juxon then Bishop of London, dated Feb. 6. 1638, as I have observed already. All the subsequent editions have been likewise printed at London.

3. The third edition, was publish'd in 1664, being licens'd by Dr. Stradling (2), Chaplain to Dr. Sheldon, who had been translated from the See of London to that of Canterbury. To that edition were added some Pieces of Mr. Chillingworth, viz. the *Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy*, and *Nine Sermons, the first preach'd before his Majesty Charles I, the other upon special and*

(2) The Approbation is dated 16. Octob. 1663.

of the Church of Rome, being denied, no man can be assured that any parcell of Scripture was written by Divine inspiration; and that none can deny that infallible Authority, but he must abandon all infus'd faith and true religion if he doe but understand himself: which, as Mr. Chillingworth observes (2), amounts to this; that all Christians besides the Papists, are open Fooles, or conceal'd Atheists. And the truth is, this last

(2) Preface &c;
§. 14, 15.

eminent occasions; of which I shall give a more particular account hereafter (3).

4. The fourth edition, was printed in 1674, and is the same with the former.

(3) See Rem. (XX), and (TT).

5. The fifth, came out in 1684, with the addition of Mr. Chillingworth's *Letter to Mr. Lewgar*, as hath been said already (4).

(4) See Rem. (II).

In the year 1687, when this Nation was in imminent danger of Popery, Mr. Chillingworth's Book being look'd upon as the most effectual preservative against it, Dr. Patrick (5), at the request of the London Clergy, publish'd an abridgement of it; with some additional Pieces of Mr. Chillingworth against Popery, which had not been, as yet, printed. It came out with this title: „ Mr. Chillingworth's Book called *The Religion* „ *of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*, made more generally useful, by omitting Personal Contests, but „ inserting whatsoever concerns the common Cause of „ *Protestants*, or defends the Church of *England*. With „ an *Addition* of some genuine Pieces of Mr. Chillingworth's never before Printed (6).

(5) Dr. John Patrick.

(6) In 4^{to}. pagg. 4 cS.

In the *Advertisement*, Dr. Patrick gives an account of

THE LIFE OF

last Pamphlet is but a paraphrase of the first. The same Accusations are brought over and over again; and little, or no notice is taken of Mr. Chillingworth's answers.

(a) *Christianity maintained* &c, in the Preface p. 11.

Mr. Knott himself was sensible that this Pamphlet could never be look'd upon as a satisfactory Answer to Mr. Chillingworth's Book; and therefore he promises a larger work. *I would not have the Reader conceive*, says he (a), *that in this little Volume I have*

of the method he hath follow'd in abridging Mr. Chillingworth's Book. „ I hope, *says he*, I shall incur no „ blame from those who deservedly value this Excellent Book of Mr. *Chillingworth*, for having made it „ of a lesser bulk, and an easier purchase than before, „ after I have told them my way of proceeding herein: „ I have not Epitomized it in the usual way, by contracting any where his sense, and giving it more „ briefly in words of my own; which would have been „ indeed an injury to him, who knew so well how to „ express his own sense fully and perspicuously beyond „ most men, without any redundancy of style; but by „ paring off and leaving out some parts of it, which I „ thought might be well spared, and make the Reading of his Book more pleasant, as well as more generally useful, when his defence of the Protestant „ Doctrines and the cause of the Reformation lay „ more close together, not being interrupted with so „ many pages spent to justify Dr. *Potter* in the personal contests betwixt him and his adversary; or in detesting the sophistry, frauds and falsities of the Jesuit, where the matter was not of common concern.

„ But

I have touched all this man's Doctrines which tend to the ouerthrow of Christianity, but only such as were most obuius. Nor is it my purpose at this time, exactly to confute his grounds or answer his obiections, which may be done hereafter. My maine busines is to demonstrate, that vnder the Name of Christians, he undermines Christianity, and settles Socinianisme. Which is the cause that mooued me to set forth this
short

„ But where I thought it was, I have been scrupulously
 „ careful to omit nothing: so far from it, that I am apt
 „ upon a review to think, that the pleasure of reading
 „ his admirable Confutation, has bribed me to insert
 „ more than was needful, in pursuance of my first de-
 „ sign.

He afterwards gives *the reason why the Jesuits Book with Mr. Chillingworth answers is not there reprinted*: and then observes, that *he hath added a large Table of Contents at the end which was wanting before, whereby the Reader may find any Argument or head of Discourse therein contained, with little or no trouble; which Table will serve any Edition of the Book, because the numbers after the Chapter refer to the divisions of the Chapters at the side, not to the Pages at the top.*

And he concludes with an account of the *Additional Pieces*: „ As for the Additional pieces, says he, that
 „ follow the Book, and were never before printed, he
 „ that reads them will find by the clearness of expres-
 „ sion, the close way of arguing and strength of rea-
 „ soning, sufficient to convince him that they are not
 „ spurious, but the genuine productions of this great

short Treatise for a present Antidote, till a larger answer can be published.

The *Doctrines* tending to the overthrow of *Christian Religion*, which he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth are these: 1. *That Fayth necessary to Saluation is not infallible: the grounds of which Doctrine*, says he, *lead to Atheisme.* 2. *That the assurance which we haue of Scriptures is but morall.* 3. *That the Apostles were not infallible in their Writings,*

(7) The Letter to Mr. Lewgar, printed by it self, was subjoyn'd to Mr. Chillingworth's Book. See Rem. (H). (8) Page. 134. (9) The imprimatur, is dated Jun. 14. 1686.

„ Man; but yet for his further satisfaction he may
 „ know, that the Manuscript out of which most of
 „ them were faithfully transcribed, is an Original of
 „ Mr. Chillingworth's own hand-writing, and now in
 „ the custody of the Reverend Dr. Tennison, to whom
 „ he is beholden for their present Publication (7).

These Pieces were publish'd with this title: *Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth never before printed* (8); being licensed by William Needham, Chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft (9). That Collection contains, I. *A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar.* II. *A Discourse against the Infallibility of the Roman Church, with an Answer to all those Texts of Scripture that are alledged to prove it.* III. *A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman Church; proving that the present Church of Rome either errs in her worshipping the Blessed Virgin Mary, or that the Ancient Church did err in condemning the Collyridians as Hereticks.* IV. *An Argument drawn from the admitting Infants to the Eucharist, as without which they could not be saved, against the Churches Infallibility.* V. *An Argument drawn from the Doctrine of the Millenaries, against*

tings, but erred with the whole Church of their tyme. 4. That his Principles are injurious to the miracles of our Saviour, and of his Apostles. 5. That by resolving Fayth into Reason, he destroyes the nature of Fayth, and Beliefe of all Christian Verities. 6. That his Doctrine is destructive of the Theological Vertues of Christian Hope, and Charity. 7. That it takes away the grounds of Rationall Discourse. 8. That it opens a

Q 2

way

gainst Infallibility. VI. A Letter relating to the same Subject. VII. An Argument against the Infallibility of the present Church of Rome, taken from the Contradictions in their Doctrine of Transubstantiation. VIII. An account of what moved the Author to turn a Papist, with his own Confutation of the Arguments that perswaded him thereto. IX. An Answer to some Passages in Rushworths Dialogues; beginning at the third Dialogue, Section 12. p. 181. edit. Paris, 1654. about Traditions (10).

(10) See
Rem. (1).
n. 3.

6. The sixth edition of Mr. Chillingworth's Book was printed in the year 1704, and besides the Pieces of the former editions, it contains the *Additional Discourses* printed in 1687, and the *Table of Contents* of the contracted edition, which they should now have enlarged and suited to the whole Book. But the worst of that edition is, that it is full of errors of the press, which very often disturb the sense. This is most shameful in a work of that consequence, and should not be suffer'd in a Nation where Learning flourishes, and Books sell at so dear a rate. And as there is an Act of Parliament which provides for a redress, when any

Book

THE LIFE OF

(b) See
Rem. (F).

way to deny the B. Trinity, and other high Mysteries of Christian Fayth. 9. That it *layes grounds to be Constant in no Religion (b).* 10. And lastly, That it *provides for the impunity, and preservation of whatsoever damnable Errour against Christian Fayth.* Which Imputations he thought sufficient to deterr any Christian from reading Mr. Chillingworth's Book. But the *Doctrines* he imputes to him are either falsely, or invidiously

(11) *An Act for the Encouragement of Learning,*
8c, An.
8°. Annæ
Reginæ.

Book is sold at any price or rate, as shall be conceived to be high and unreasonable (11); so it were to be wish'd, that some provision was made against such an abuse of the press.

7. The seventh and last edition was printed in 1719 and contains the same Pieces as the former. It is pretended in the title, that it is *compared with all the Editions now extant, and made more correct than any of the former:* but how far this is true, let them judge that have examin'd it.

The new Edition, which, I hear, is now preparing, will, I hope, be answerable to the importance of the Subject, and to the great name of CHILLINGWORTH. In order to perfect it, the second edition should be carefully compared with the first, which in several places may serve to improve and rectifie the second. And as for the *Sermons and additional Discourses*, they ought to be printed from the editions of 1664, and 1687. If Mr. Chillingworth's original Manuscripts of the said *Discourses* could be procured, I don't doubt but they would contribute towards bringing that Edition to a greater perfection.

vidiously drawn from his Principles; and as that Jesuit owns himself, are (according to his way of arguing) equally deducible from the Principles of all Protestants. This Libel he hath the confidence to dedicate to the King, and to rehearse the aforesaid aspersions before that learned and judicious Prince, who understood perfectly the Principles of the Protestant Religion, and was one of the admirers of Mr. Chillingworth's performance.

In the Conclusion of this Pamphlet, Mr. Knott laments the fate of his former Libel, which had not the good fortune to prejudice the Publick against our Author and his Work, as he expected it would do: but at the same time, seems wonderfully pleas'd to think that Mr. Chillingworth is condemn'd by his own Book, wherein *Socinianisme*, says he, appears manifestly in every part of it. Here is the whole passage:

„ Though this, *sayth he* (c), [that is, his (c) *Ubi*
 „ former Pamphlet, intituled *A Direction* ^{*supr. p. 79.*}
 „ to N. N. &c.] hath not taken the full
 „ effect which could haue been wished,
 „ and that notwithstanding the warning
 „ giuen, he hath interlaced his whole
 „ booke with such stuffe as here you haue
 „ scene; yet this we haue gotten fur-
 „ ther, that it is discovered cleerly to
 „ the world, how deeply *Socinianisme* is
 „ rooted in this man, (and, as it is to be

„ feared, in many others with whome he
 „ must needs haue had much conference
 „ since his vndertaking the worke) in regard
 „ that no timely aduise or *Direction*, no
 „ force of reason, no feare of shame or
 „ punishment, no former impressiions of
 „ Christianity could withdraw him from
 „ steeping his thoughts and pen in such vn-
 „ Christian inke; nor the many Correcti-
 „ ons endeauoured by the Approouers of
 „ his Booke, blot out his errours, though
 „ in respect of the alterations which haue
 „ been by report made in it by them, it is
 „ quite another thing from the first plat-
 „ forme which he drew, and put into their
 „ hands (*d*); and consequently how iust rea-
 „ son the *Directour* had to suspect, that his
 „ *true intention*, was not to *defend Pro-*
 „ *testantisme*, but couertly to vent *Socini-*
 „ *anisme*.

(*d*) See
 Rem.
 (CC).

To that Pamphlet is subjoyn'd a little
 Piece, printed the same year, and at the
 same place, under the title of, *Motives*
maintained. Or a Reply vnto M. Chilling-
worthes Answer to his owne Motiues of
his Conversion to Catholicke Religion (*e*).

(*e*) Pagg.
 24.

In a short preample, Mr. Knott acquaints
 the Reader with the occasion of Mr. Chil-
 lingworth's writing those *Motives*; and adds
 that „ (*f*) after diuers turnings, and return-
 „ ings, to and from that Religion which
 „ for so conuincing *Motives* he then em-
 „ braced,

(*f*) *Mo-*
tives main-
tained &c,
 p. 3, 4.

„ braced, now he hath published an *An-*
 „ *swere* to those his own *Motives*: but
 „ such an answer as proves him to be
 „ neyther *Catholicke* nor *Protestant* for his
 „ beliefe. For, *says he*, through all his *An-*
 „ *swers*, *Catholicks* are impugned, *Prote-*
 „ *stants* abandoned, and grounds layd for a
 „ new, and wicked Sect, which in this
 „ Kingdome begins to be knowne, and
 „ spoken of, by the name of *Socinianisme*.
 „ My intention, *pursues he*, is briefly to
 „ maintaine the *Answerers* *Catholicke Mo-*
 „ *tives*, against his owne *Answers* to them.
 „ The method, I propose to hold, shall be
 „ naturall and clear in it selfe, and easy
 „ for thy comprehension and memory; set-
 „ ting downe in order, *first*, the *Motive*;
 „ then his *Answer* to it; and *thirdly* my
 „ *Reply* or Confutation of his *Answer*.

Mr. Wood did not know that Mr. Knott was the Author of the aforesaid Pamphlet (KK).

Q 4

The

(KK) *Mr. Wood did not know that Mr. Knott was the Author of that Pamphlet*]. If he had known it, he would undoubtedly have named him; whereas he only describes that Author by these letters J. H. (1), which are at the bottom of the Dedication to the King. But Mr. Knott had us'd the same letters at the end of his dedication to that Prince, prefix'd before his *Charity maintained &c.*

(1) *Arch.*
Oxon. Vol.
 II. c. 23.

THE LIFE OF

The next Pamphlet against Mr. Chillingworth was also printed at St. Omer in the year 1638, with this title : *The Church Conquerant over human Wit. Or the Churches Authority demonstrated by M. William Chillingworth (the Proctour for Wit against her)*
his

In the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* we find this Pamphlet mention'd among Mr. Knotts Books written against Mr. Chillingworth. The last edition of that *Bibliothèque*, publish'd by Mr. Southwell, being very scarce, I will transcribe here what relates to this subject.

- (2) *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, &c; p. 185. See above Rem.(H). „ (2) Scripsit Anglicè librum insignem aduersus Doctorem hæreticum Potterum, qui arguerat Catholicos tamquam expertes Charitatis, docendo Protestantibus non posse saluari in sua Religione, & libro titulum fecit
„ *Misericordia, & veritas, seu Charitas propugnata à Catholicis*. Duabus partibus Audomari 1634. in 4.
„ Item alium sub titulo
„ *Christianitas propugnata* de eodem fere argumento aduersus replicam cuiusdam Hæretici Chillingworthij, & Socinianismum. Ibidem 1638: in 4. Item
„ *Directionem præuiam* ad eundem Chillingworthium. Londini 1636 in 8.
„ *Infidelitatem detectam aduersus librum eiusdem quod docuerat, Religionem Protestantium esse securam viam ad salutem*. Gandavi 1652. in 4.

This passage affords me two or three Observations.

1. Mr. Southwell takes no notice of Mr. Knott's Book, intitled, *Charity mistaken* (3), which was answer'd by Dr. Potter: not knowing, I believe, that there was such a Book, And this error hath led him into
- (3) See above, pag. 44.

his perpetual Contradictions, in his booke entituled, The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation (g). The Author is (g) In 4^o. a Jesuit call'd John Floyd (LL). pagg. 193.

Mr.

into another. For he supposes that Dr. Potter's Book, call'd, *Want of Charity* &c (4); occasion'd Mr. Knott's (4) See Answer intitled, *Charity maintained*, and consequently *Ibid.* P. 45. that Dr. Potter was the aggressor: whereas he only vindicated the Protestants against the first attacks of Mr. Knott.

2. The *Direction to N. N.* &c, being publish'd in 1636, should have been placed before *Christianity maintained*, which came out in 1638. I find the same inaccuracy in Allegambe's edition; but Mr. Southwell, who hath improved that Article, should have rectified it also in this particular. And here I must confess, I have often wonder'd that the Jesuits, who make so great a figure in the world, and are so fond of glory, would not give us a more exact Account of their Authors and their Writings than this *Bibliothèque*, begun by Ribadeneira, and continued by Allegambe, and Southwell. The account which the Dominicans have lately publish'd of their Authors (5), is much more compleat and better digested.

3. Mr. Southwell says nothing of the little piece, call'd, *Motives maintained*, probably, because he look'd upon it as the sequel or second Part of *Christianity maintained*. And I may add here, that Mr. Wood did not know the Author of *Motives maintained*: for he is silent in that matter (6).

(LL) The Author is a Jesuit call'd John Floyd]. We find

(5) *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum recensiti, Notisq; historicis & criticis illustrati &c.*

à Jac. Quetif & Jac. Echard:

printed at Paris in 2 vol. in fol. 1719.

(6) *Ubi supr.* c. 23.

(b) *The Church conquerant* &c; Preface, §. 1. pag. 3.

Mr. Floyd begins his Preface with sounding the alarm against Mr. Chillingworth's Book, which he calls *a direct* (b), and often iterated exprobration made to the whole Army of the living God. And he adds, that *as he did hartly wish, so did he hopefully expect, that of the famous Vniversity, in the sight and hearing wherof this hateful exprobration was made, an Vniversity stored with so many well experienced warriours*

(1) *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* &c, pag. 449. See also *Historia Missionis Anglicana* &c, Lib. VI. §. xli. p. 187.

find this account of him in the History of the Jesuit Writers (1):

JOANNES FLOYDUS natione Anglus, patria Cantabrigiensis, post studia Romæ in Collegio Anglicano capta Societati se addixit ibidem anno salutis 1592. ætatis 23. Missus postmodum in Angliam, captus in carcerem coniectus, & post annum in exilium pulsus est. Docuit Theologiam annos complures in Collegio Anglorum Louaniensi, ubi, & studiis diu præfuit. Conciones diu habuit Audomari ad Anglos magno cum sensu pietatis & fructu. Contra Hereticos quos egregiè exagitavit varios, & perutiles scripsit libros, & demum annis grauis per exercitia spiritualia S. P. Ignatii morti se accinxit, quam paulò die 16. Septembris 1649. Audomaropoli oppetiuit, ætatis 77. Societatis initæ 57 à votis 4. nuncupatis 41.....

Anglicè edidit....

(2) He should have said 1638.

„ Ecclesiam ingenii humani debellatricem contra
 „ Chillingworthum Apostatam à Fide. Audomari 1633
 „ (2). in 4.
 „ Summam totalem de salute in Romana Ecclesia
 „ contra eundem. Audomari 1639. in 4°.

Mr.

riours and redoubted Champions, some one would haue appeared in field with the complete Armour of Christian inuincible learning, against this Defyer, and Challenger of the Church of God (i). But that whatever may haue been the cause of this their forbearance, „ he is confident of their Christianity, that they will approue, fauour, and „ applaud Christianity maintayned „ Which Treatise, says he, if they haue „ read ouer and perused, I dare say, they „ haue found therein a little *David*, short „ and solid, pious and pithy, learned and „ religious,

(i) Ibid.
§. 2.

Mr. Wood mentions these two Pamphlets: but says nothing of the Author of the first, in the place where one would expect he should (3), if he had known who he was; and the second he attributes to another Writer (4). It is true, that in the second edition of his Book, in one of the additional Articles (5) he speaks of “ Fath. *Joh. Floyde* a Jesuit (the same who wrote „ himself *Daniel à Jesu* and fell (1) foully upon *Will. Chillingworth* for his Apostacy (as he calls it) that „ is for his returning to the Church of *England*”: and in the margin I find this note „ (1) In the *Ecclesia ingenii humani debellatrix*, Audomar. 1631. qu. “: which last words are taken out of Alegambe’s edition of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* (6). But that Pamphlet is here cited, as if it had been written in Latin; whereas Mr. Wood knew, and said before, it was in English (7). 2. It was not printed in 1631, but in 1638, as Mr Wood had observed already (8).

(3) *Ubi*
supr. c. 23.
(4) See below Rem.
(MM).
(5) In the Article of Dr. *Herbert Croft*, Bishop of Hereford; Vol. II. c. 864.
(6) Printed at Antwerp in 1643.
(7) *Ubi*
supr. c. 23. of the 1. edit. and c. 43. of the 2^d.
(8) *Ibidem*.
But

„ religious, armed with *smooth stones* of
 „ cleere Truth, gathered from the *current*
 „ of Christian Tradition, deliuered by the
 „ *Pastoral sling* of the Churches Authori-
 „ ty. On the other side, a mighty Giant
 „ destitute of all the signes and markes of
 „ a Christian souldier, armed neither with
 „ the authority of the present Christian
 „ Church, nor perpetuall *Traditions*, nor
 „ *Councells*, nor *Consent of Fathers*, nor
 „ with their single sentences, which he
 „ reiects as Bul-rushes of no strength (k).

(k) *Ib.* §. 3.
 P. 4.

„ That short Treatise of *Christianity main-*
 „ *tayned, pursues our Jesuit* (l), hath foyl-
 „ ed this daring challenger by a stroke *on the*
 „ *forehead*, by laying open his *Principles*,
 „ how they destroy *Christianity* The
 „ spoyles of his victory, he leaueth *to his*
 „ *Armiger* [Mr. Floyd] to gather, that he
 „ may also haue part of the honour, and
 „ in the glorious victory, which is, as (f.)

(f) *Epist.*
 84.

„ *S. Hierome* sayth, *cum Dauidе extorque-*
 „ *re gladium de aduersarii manibus, & su-*
 „ *perbissimi*

(9) Mr.
 Hearne in
 his Pre-

face before
The History
 and *Anti-*
quities of
Glastonbu-
ry, p. xliv.
 calls that
 second e-
 dition, a
spurious e-
dition.

But, whether this is one of the Interpolations, which,
 they say, were made in the second edition of Mr.
 Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, by another hand (9), or
 not; I will not pretend to determine. I shall only ob-
 serve, that if Mr. Wood had by him the *Bibliotheca*
Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, when he revised and enlarg-
 ed his Book; it is surprising he did not make use of it
 to improve or rectifie the Account he hath given of se-
 veral Jesuits, and of their Writings.

„ *perbissimi Golie caput proprio mucrone*
 „ *truncare*, to confute and make away with
 „ the heads of his erroneous doctrine, by
 „ the force of his owne sword, his words,
 „ sayings, and principles.

This little piece is divided into seven Chapters, and every Chapter subdivided into several heads, call'd *Convictions*; wherein the Jesuit endeavours to shew the inconsistencies and contradictions of Mr. Chillingworth. And not contented with this attack, he says in the Conclusion, that *many* (m) *new contradictions and impertinences* (m) Chap. by him [Mr. Chillingworth] *uttered will* vii. P. *be layd open in the Treatise of the Totall* 193. *Summe, which he intends as an Appendix unto this.*

The *Totall Summe* came out in 1639, intitled: *The totall Summe: or no danger of Damnation unto Roman Catholiques for any Errours in Faith: Nor any hope of Salvation for any Sectary whatsoever that doth knowingly oppose the Doctrine of the Roman Church. This is proved by the Confessions, and Saying of M. Chillingworth his Booke* (n). (n) In 4°. pagg. 104.

In the Preface, Mr. Floyd observes that,
 „ (o) as they who make *Bills of Account*, (o) *The To-*
 „ when they haue set downe distinctly for *tall Summe*
 „ their discharge, the particular Summes &c, Pre-
 „ of expences; are accustomed in the end face p. 3,
 „ in few Cyphers to abbreviate the *Totall* 4.
 „ *Summe*;

(a) *Deum
time, &
mandata
eius obser-
ua: hoc est
enim om-
nis homo.
Ecclesiastæ
c. 12. v.
13.*

„ *Summe*; so this Treatise comming after
„ the former, as the Conclusion thereof;
„ he hath giuen it the name of *Totall*
„ *Summe*, the Argument handled therein
„ being worthy of that stile. For what is
„ the *finall* marke, *says he*, the *Totall*, the
„ *All in all* (a) of our pious endcauours,
„ labours, cares, sollicitudes in this mortall
„ life, but only to find out the true Reli-
„ gion, wherein one shall be sure of his
„ Saluation, if simply and constantly he
„ belieue the Doctrines and liue according
„ to the lawes thereof.

„ Verily, *pursues he*, this is the pith, the
„ marrow, the *Summe*, the quintessence of
„ all Controuersies ventilated betwixt Pro-
„ testants and vs: and in particular it was
„ the sole scope of that short substantiall
„ Treatise *Charity mistaken by Protestants*

(p) Mr.
Knott, the
Author of
that Book,
calls it, a
little, ele-
gant, and
pithy Tre-
atise, in his
Preface to
*Infidelity
unmasked*
&c, p. 10.

„ (p); which being by D. *Potter*, in his
„ *Want of Charity*, impugned, was defend-
„ ed and confirmed by the learned labours
„ and elucubrations of *Charity maintayn-*
„ *ed*. For the maine Controuersy debated
„ in these three bookes is, *whether Roman*
„ *Catholiques and Protestants may both be*
„ *saued in their seuerall Religions*: or which
„ comes to the same issue, being Protestants
„ grant we may be saued in our Religion,
„ because our Errours are not Fundamentall
„ and damnable, *whether it is not want*
„ *of Charity in vs, that we will not re-*

„ *quite*

„ *quite them with the like mild, gentle,*
 „ *and comfortable doome;* but constantly
 „ maintayne, that Saluation cannot be had in
 „ any course of Separation, and Oppositi-
 „ on against Doctrine proposed by the Ro-
 „ man Church, as matter of faith.

Mr. Floyd takes for granted, that Prote-
 stants absolutely and without restriction,
 own that *the errors of the Church of Rome*
are not damnable. Mr. Knott had done the
 same before him: but Mr. Chillingworth
 denied the fact. For, that Jesuit having
 asserted that *wee confesse there is no damnable*
error in the Doctrine or practice of the
Roman Church; he return'd this Answer

(q): *wee confesse no such matter, and though* (q) *The*
you say so a hundred times, no repetition Protestant
will make it true. We professe plainly, that Religion,
many damnable errors plainly repugnant to the &c, Chap.
precepts of Christ both Ceremoniall and Mo- vii. §. 23.
rall are beleaved and professed by you.

And a little lower: „ Whereas again, *says*
 „ *Mr. Chillingworth* (r), *you obtrude up-* (r) *Ibid. §.*
 „ *on us, That we cannot but confesse that* 25.
 „ *your doctrine contains no damnable error,*
 „ *and that yours is so certainly a true*
 „ *Church, that unlesse yours be true wee*
 „ *cannot pretend any:* I answer, there is in
 „ this neither truth nor modestie to out-
 „ face us, that wee cannot but confesse
 „ what indeed we cannot but denie. For

„ my

THE LIFE OF

„ my part, if I were upon the rack, I per-
 „ swade my selfe I should not confesse the
 „ one nor the other.

This second Pamphlet of Mr. Floyd contains nine Chapters, or *Conuictions*, as he is pleas'd to call them; and every Conviction is divided into Articles or Paragraphs. The design of them is sufficiently explain'd by the title: and as for the Arguments, I will venture to say, that they are a most compleat piece of Sophistry. The Errors and Contradictions he objects to Mr. Chillingworth, are so many mistakes or misrepresentations of his sense and meaning. He rehearses Mr. Knott's assertions, without either taking notice of, or attempting to confute Mr. Chillingworth's Answers. And of this last we have an instance before us. For he is not ashamed to lay down as a fact, that *Protestants own that the Papists have no damnable errors*; tho' Mr. Chillingworth, as we have seen, hath denyed it in the fullest and strongest manner.

The third and last Pamphlet put out against Mr. Chillingworth, was printed in the year 1639, at St. Omer, as I take it, and intituled: *The Iudgment of an Vniuersity-Man concerning M. William Chillingworth his late Pamphlet, in Answer to Charity Maintayned* (s). The Author of

(s) In 4°.
 pagg. 158.

it is Mr. William Lacy, a Jesuit (MM). He calls that Piece, the *Judgment of an University-Man*, because when he writ it, he was *then dwelling in Oxon* (t). His design is to confute, or rather to ridicule, not Mr. Chillingworth's Book; as the title of the Pamphlet seems to import; but his *Preface*, or *Answer to Mr. Knott's Direction &c.* This *Judgment of an University-Man* is but a rambling, sophistical, abusive declamation:

(t) Wood,
Ath. Oxon;
Vol. II.
c. 22.

(MM) *The Author of it is Mr. William Lacy, a Jesuit.*] Mr. Wood tells us that he „ (1) was born in a (1) *Ubi*
„ Market Town in *Yorkshire* called *Scarborough*, be-^{supr.} c.
„ came a Student in the University of *Oxford*..... in 1579.
„ 1600 aged 16 years or thereabouts..... After he had
„ left the University, without the taking of any degree,
„ he retired for a time to his native Country, and thence,
„ by the perswasion of a certain person, to the *English*
„ College at *Rome*..... Thence he went to *Nancy* in
„ *Lorraine*, where he entred himself into the Society
„ of *Jesus* an. 1611, at which time he bound himself
„ by oath to observe the four vows. Afterwards he
„ taught Humanity for some years at *S. Omers*.... an.
„ 1622. About that time being sent on the mission in-
„ to *England*, he settled in the City of *Oxon*, where.....
„ he dyed (2) on the 17th day of July, in 1673 aged 89 (2) *Ibid.*
„ years. c. 380.

„ He was esteemed by all, observes Mr. Wood (3), e-
„ specially by those of his opinion; a learned Man, (3) c. 379;
„ well vers'd in the Poets; of a quiet disposition and
„ gentile behaviour: which made him therefore respect-
„ ed, and his company to be desired, by certain Scho-

THE LIFE OF

declamation : a sort of burlesque, interlarded with several passages out of the Latin Poets. In the very title, we see that he calls Mr. Chillingworth's Book a *Pamphlet*. But he is angry with him for having so call'd Mr. Knott's *Direction* &c ; which hath not two sheets and a half. However, he justifies this odd expression in the following manner. After having set down the title of Mr. Chillingworth's Preface ; viz.

The

(4) See
Mr. Wood
ibid. c. 19.

,, lars of the University, especially by *Tho. Masters* (4)
,, and other ingenious men of *New College*. But,
,, *pursues he*, this their civility to, and esteem of him,
,, was not while the Presbyterians governed, who made
,, it a most dreadful and damnable thing to be seen in
,, the company of Papists, especially of Romish Priests,
,, but before the rebellion broke forth upon their ac-
,, count, when then the Men of the Church of *Eng-*
,, *land* had a respect for Papists, as they now have for
,, Presbyterians.

(5) *Bibli-*
oth. Script.
Soc. Jesu,
8c. P.
315.

Mr. Southwell! gives the following account of Mr. Lacy (5):

GULIELMUS LACÆUS, natione *Anglus*, patria *Eboracensis*, post nauatam *Philosophiæ operam in Collegio Anglicano Romæ*, *Tirocinium religiosæ vitæ in Societate posuit Nancæi in Lotharingia*, anno salutis 1611. ætatis 26. & votorum quatuor nuncupatione se adstrinxit. Docuit multis annis *Humaniores literas cum laude tum Audomarpoli in Belgio*, tum in ipsa *Anglia*, ubi 58 annos, vel in ætate emerita *Vineam illam nauiter coluit*, sæpius ab *Hæreticis ad mortem quæsitus*, prudentia sua eorum molimina evasit ; Tandem senio, & laboribus confectus, ad horum

The Preface to the Author of Charity Maintayned, with an Answer to his Pamphlet, entituled, a Direction to N. N. ; he says (u) :

(u) *The Judgment of an University-Man, &c.*
p. 11, 12.

„ I haue obserued this ordinary *Tapinosis*,
 „ or phrase of degradation, very frequent
 „ in Protestant writers against the Catho-
 „ lique: but if withall they haue Christ-
 „ ned it a Popish Pamphlet, I dare say, t'is
 „ more then halfe the confutation. Now

R 2

„ faine

præmia migravit ex hac vita Oxonii die 3 Augusti 1673. Scripsit Anglicè contra Hæresim Socinianam tunc in Anglia gliscentem tacito suo nomine solidè, atque acutè, & edidit sub titulo :

Iudicium Academici de Libello Guilielmi Chillingworthi 1639. in 4. cui addita est ad calcem

Heautomachia, siue pugna eiusdem Chillingworthi aduersus se ipsum. Typis iisdem, & anno.

Mr. Wood gives this account of the Writings of Mr. Lacy.

„ The things, says he (6), that this Father hath writ- (6) *Ubi*
 „ ten, are, *supr. c.*

„ The judgment of an University man concerning 379
 „ Mr. Will. Chillingworth his late Pamphlet in an-
 „ swer to Charity maintained——Printed in 1639. qu.
 „ Reprinted at Cambridge in 1653 in oct. in a preface
 „ to a book then and there published.

„ *Heautomachia*: Mr. Chillingworth against him-
 „ self.

„ The total Sum.——These two are printed at the
 „ end of the *Judgment*, &c.

Whereupon

THE LIFE OF

„ faine would I know how many rhemes
 „ of paper may vindicate a Booke from the
 „ contempt of a Pamphlet? In my opini-
 „ on a large volume *in folio* may be a Pamph-
 „ let in substance, and a Manuall booke of
 „ a very few sheets may contain the waight
 „ and worth of an ample volume. True,
 „ if Glouers and Grossers be made iudges,
 „ your swelling volumes are more vsfull
 „ for such occasions. They should do well
 „ to

Whereupon we may observe, 1. that he attributes the *Totall Summe* to Mr. Lacy, whereas it is Mr. Floyd's (7). 2. He says, that the *Heautomachia* and the *Totall Summe* are printed at the end of the Judgment, &c, because he found them, I suppose, bound together and in that order, in the copy he used: and I remember to have seen such a copy in one of the Libraries at Oxford. 3. He affirms that the *Judgment of an University-Man*, was reprinted at Cambridge in 1653, in oct. in a preface to a booke then and there published: which words contain two or three egregious mistakes. The fact is, that Mr. Smith (8) publish'd in 1653, in 8°, an English Translation of Mr. Daillé's *Apologie for the Reformed Churches*: to which he added a Preface (for thus runs the title of that volume) containing the Judgment of an University-Man concerning Mr. Knott's last book (9) against Mr. Chillingworth. Mr. Wood hath jumbled together things of a quite different nature. Mr. Lacy's *Judgment*, is an Invective against Mr. Chillingworth, on behalf of Mr. Knott: and Mr. Smith's *Judgment*, is a Vindication of Mr. Chillingworth against Mr. Knott; as we shall see hereafter.

(7) See
Rem.
(LL).

(8) *De quo*
supr. Rem.
(K) and
(AA).

(9) that is,
his *Insideli-*
city un-
masked,
&c.

„ to send them thither, where they shall
 „ be valued according to there bulke,

„ — *Ad vicum vendentem thus & odores*
 „ *Et piper, & quicquid chartis amicitur*
ineptis.

„ But the Printer will be paid according
 „ to the number of sheetes, and good rea-
 „ son. Therefore you haue purchased with
 „ your purse a title of Honour to your
 „ Worke about a Pamphlet; therefore he
 „ will not call it Pamphlet, but I may, who
 „ take by waight of wit, and substance,
 „ that of inke and paper. And to deale
 „ plainly and seriously with the man, if all
 „ the *Parerga's*, or impertinences of his
 „ booke were culled out, and the solid re-
 „ maines bound vp by themselves, this
 „ would be a very Pamphlet indeed, much
 „ lesse then either of the two so termed by
 „ him, M. C. [*Chillingworth*], or by his
 „ his Patron D. P. (x). Howsoever if a
 „ *Goliath* chance to be defeated by a little
 „ Daud, had it not beene more credit for
 „ him to haue called him a Giant then a
 „ dwarf?

One passage more of Mr. Lacy (y) will
 be sufficient to give a notion of his Pamph-
 let. Mr. Chillingworth had observed that
 the Pope's Infallibility being once acknow-
 ledged, he may give such laws and decree

(x) Dr.
 Potter
 call'd Mr.
 Knott's
Charity
mistaken
 &c, a
Pamphlet:
 it being a
 small 8°. of 130
 pages.
 (y) See al-
 so Rem.
 (C); and
 (DD) n.
 (S).

(z) *The Religion of Protestants, &c; Preface, §. 11.*

such doctrine as he pleases, in opposition to the laws and the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and to the most plain and evident texts of Scripture; and proved it by several instances. *Who that had liv'd in the Primitive Church, says he (z), would not have thought it as utterly improbable, that ever they should have brought in the worship of Images and picturing of God, as now it is that they should legitimate fornication? Why may wee not think they may in time take away the whole Communion from the Laity, as well as they have taken away halfe of it? Why may wee not thinke that any Text and any sence may not be accorded, as well as the whole 14. Chapter of the Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians is reconciled to the Latine service? How is it possible any thing should be plainer forbidden, then the worship of Angels, in the Epistle to the Colossians? then the teaching for Doctrines mens commands in the Gospel of S. Mark?*

(a) *The Judgment &c, p. 68.*

To which Mr. Lacy answers (a):

„ After this he strikes at the worship of
 „ Angels, to be reuenged perhaps of the
 „ striking Angell that slew the first-borne
 „ in Ægypt; then at *Traditions*, and teach-
 „ ing mens commaunds for doctrines, *La-
 „ tin-seruice, Images &c.*

„ Verily I can hardly belieue that Mr.
 „ Ch. had a stomach strong inough to di-
 „ gest these many, and many tymes sodden

„ *Crambes*

„ *Crambes* inough to kill fourty mai-
 „ sters ;

„ *Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.*

„ and I could easily suspect some other had
 „ a great hand in the cookery, and ingested
 „ a great part of these ingredients. And
 „ is all our expectation come to this ? after
 „ his ingenuous acknowledgment, when
 „ tyme was, that *Charity maintayned* could
 „ not be defeated by any forces of Prote-
 „ stancy ; nor by any of those accustomed
 „ attempts and practices, and that notwith-
 „ standing he had a way, and had found
 „ where, and wherewith he could inuade
 „ them strongly, and beat them from their
 „ former hold's ; which was to say in ef-
 „ fect,

„ *Dicam insigne, recens adhuc—*
 „ *Indictum ore alieno ;—*

„ Now, after all this to come forth in a
 „ thredbare sute, patcht' vp with old shred's
 „ of a number of stale Arguments, and
 „ Obiections,

„ *Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello ;*

„ such as in his first Protestancy he would
 „ not haue stoopt' to take vp. Well then

Job.

„ I see, any disgrace is credible inough in
 „ him, who hath throwne away his Tar-
 „ get : and see, I pray you, what the fa-
 „ mine and penury of a staru'd cause may
 „ do ; *Quæ prius nolebat tangere anima*
 „ *mea, nunc præ angustia cibi mei sunt ;*
 „ where heretofore my soule loathed, now
 „ for very need, is become my food.

„ The truth is, he was resolu'd vpon o-
 „ ther prouision when he made this quar-
 „ rel his enterprize ; nor was he ignorant
 „ of these hard exigents, and these narrow
 „ passages whereunto the Protestant cause
 „ hath beene, and is daily driuen by the
 „ Catholique ; therefore he had determin'd
 „ with himselfe to draw him forth into
 „ the wide Champian, and spacious plaines
 „ of *Socinianisme*. Now being crost in his
 „ course (*sic visum Superis*, so the Gods
 „ would haue it) he is fallen into the ordi-
 „ nary beaten way of his Anti-Catholique
 „ Ancestry, and (which I assure my selfe,
 „ not long since, he hartly disdain'd) now
 „ he can vouchsafe to gleane after them,
 „ &c.

(b) Pagg.
 46.

Next to this Picce of Mr. Lacy, there is
 another, call'd *Heautomachia. Mr. Chilling-*
worth against himself (b). It hath no title-
 page, nor Preface ; being the sequel of the
 other, and printed at the same time. The
 style is also the same. It contains a Con-
 futation of Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to
 I his

his own *Motives*. Mr. Lacy, first, sets down the *Motive*; then, the Answer which he calls the *Remotive*; and afterwards his Reply, under the name of *Promotive* or *Replicant*.

Mr. Knott was wonderfully pleas'd with this performance of Mr. Lacy; as appears by the Preface of his large Book against Mr. Chillingworth (NN). And now I have mention'd that Book, which was publish'd in 1652; I think it will not be improper to give here some account of it.

Mr.

(NN) Mr. Knott was wonderfully pleas'd with this performance of Mr. Lacy; as appears by the Preface of his large Book against Mr. Chillingworth]. Mr. Knott was so satisfied with that Pamphlet, that he judg'd it to be a just and sufficient Answer to Mr. Chillingworth's Preface, which acquitted him from answering it himself. He was even pleas'd to fancy that it had very much troubled and vexed his Adversary. I meddle not, says he (1), with Mr. Chillingworth's Answer, by waie of Preface, to a little Work, intituled, A Direction to N. N.; because presently upon the publishing of his Book, that Preface of his, was in such manner confuted, by a wittie, erudite, and solid Book, with this Title (The judgment of an Vniversity-man concerning Mr. William Chillingworth his late Pamphlet, in Answer to Charity Maintayned) that He was much troubled thereat, but yet thought fit to digest his vexation by silence.

(1) *Infidelity unmasked* &c; Preface, §. 9. p. 4.

But the learned and ingenious Mr. Smith before mention'd, is of a very different opinion. For, speaking of Mr. Knott's Preface, „ After he hath given his Readers,

THE LIFE OF

Mr. Knott's Answer coming out fourteen years after the publishing of Mr. Chillingworth's Book, and nine years after the death of Mr. Chillingworth; it might have been expected that his heat and animosity were calmed: but nothing could bring him to a better temper. And as in his last Pamphlet, he had accused Mr. Chillingworth with *over-throwing Christianity*; so in this Book he charges him

(2) Preface, containing the Judgment of an University-Man &c.
P. 23, 24.

„ ders, says he (2), some admonitions how to read his
 „ book [I wish that he pretending to answer the whole,
 „ had printed M. Chillingworth's with it, that we might
 „ the more readily have compared them] and told them,
 „ that one half of CHARITY MAINTAINED is yet unan-
 „ swered [he who readeth Mr. Chill's book, or but the
 „ last lines of it, sees the reason of that] he professeth,
 „ That he will not meddle with Mr. Chill's answer to
 „ the direct. to N. N. (very ingenuously spoken!) but
 „ why? because it is confuted by a book entituled,
 „ THE JUDGEMENT OF AN UNIVERSITY-MAN CON-
 „ CERNING MR. CHILLINGWORTHS PAMPHLET: 'twas
 „ a pretty little Pamphlet! but whether that Judgment
 „ of an University-man, which I never met with any
 „ man whosoever that saw (unlesse such to whom I
 „ have shew'd it) be a reall answer to any page of Mr.
 „ Chill's book, any more than Chaucers tales, I desire
 „ any unprejudiced man to determine. Onely, I must
 „ take notice (as I passe) that Mr. Knot doth very well,
 „ to observe so soon that precept, which Tully gives
 „ his Oratour (and Ulysses in Ovid, against Ajax, prac-
 „ tise) to skip over the hardest arguments. What 'tis
 „ in an Oratour I'll not say; but I am sure, it is no
 „ great signe of a good Disputant.

him with *Infidelity*. For he intitles it, *Infidelity unmasked. Or the Confutation of a Booke published by Mr. William Chillingworth, under this Title : The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation* (c).

(c) Printed in Gant, 1652, in 4^o. pagg. 949, besides the Preface and the Index.

In the Preface, Mr. Knott accounts for his publishing his Answer so late. „ I can-
 „ not doubt, *says he* (d), but that an An-
 „ swer to Mr. Chillingworths Booke, hath
 „ bene expected, long since. But they who
 „ are acquainted, with the many, and long,
 „ and great, and insuperable obstacles of
 „ voyages to remote countreyes; long, fre-
 „ quent and great sicknesses; and vnavoid-
 „ able imployments (imposed by Authori-
 „ ty, which I ought not to resist, though
 „ some can witness, that even in that, I
 „ strayed obedience, more than I should
 „ haue adventured to doe vpon any other
 „ occasion) which haue crossed my earnest,
 „ and constant desires, will not so much
 „ marvell, that this Work hath bene long
 „ in doing, as that finally it is donne. This
 „ one thing is evident: That not any diffi-
 „ culty, to answer, could haue bene cause
 „ of so long, delay: since whosoever can
 „ answer now, could haue donne it much
 „ sooner, if extrinsecall impediments had
 „ bene removed.

(d) *Infidelity Unmasked* &c; Preface, §. 2. p. 1.

Mr. Knott may very well say, *it was not any difficulty to answer, that could haue bene cause of so long delay*: his materials were
 ready

THE LIFE OF

ready even before Mr. Chillingworth's Book was put out. For as his *Christianity Maintayned* was only a paraphrase upon his *Direction*, as I have observed already : so this last Book is but a comment on the former Pamphlet. The same Aspersions and Calumnies are brought in, and enlarged upon ; without any regard to Mr. Chillingworth's Answers and Declarations. As to his Arguments, they are loose, rambling, intricate : and in that respect, this last composition of Mr. Knott is much inferior to his Book against Dr. Potter, call'd *Charity maintayned*.

In the same Preface, our Jesuit complains of Mr. Chillingworth's way of answering, and of his having abandoned Dr. Potter, and the first Principles of Protestants. „ As for „ that vnfortunate man, whom I confute, „ *says he (e)*, Truth obliges me to declare, „ that, beside his most contemning, disdain- „ ing, proud, bitter, and even bloudy, waie „ of answering, by seeking to make odious, both the Religion, and persons of „ Catholiques I must insist vpon this ; „ that in reality his Book is no Confutation of Charity Maintayned, who answered Dr. Potter according to the grounds „ of Protestants, not of Socinians, or any „ other new Sect. And therefore Mr. Chillingworth, flying to new Principles, hath „ abandoned Dr. Potter, and all the elder „ kind

(e) Preface, §. 3.
P. 1.

„ kind of Protestants, and left his Adver-
 „ sary in possession, of being vnanfwered :
 „ agreeably to his ingenuous acknowledg-
 „ ment, when time was, that Charity Main-
 „ tained, could not be defeated by any for-
 „ ces of Protestants, and that he had a way
 „ to confute him (a).

(a) See,
 the Judg-
 ment of an
 Vniuersity-
 Man (Pag.
 68, Sect.
 16.)

It is pleasant enough to see our Jesuit charge Mr. Chillingworth with a *contemning, disdainig &c, way of answering* ; an excess, he is himself the most guilty of (OO). As to what he adds, that Mr. Chillingworth hath abandoned *Dr. Potter, and the elder*

(OO) *An excess he is himself the most guilty of*. Mr. Knott charges Mr. Chillingworth with a *most contemning, disdainig, proud, bitter, and even bloudy, waie of answering, by seeking to make odious, both the Religion, and persons of Catholiques* : whereupon it may be observed that there are two ways of making odious the Religion and persons of a Sect or Communion. One, by imputing to them *odious* Principles, which they do not hold, or which they expressly disavow. The other, by giving a true and impartial Account of their principles or practices, which being very *odious* in themselves, cannot but make that Sect *odious* which holds them. As to the first, it does not appear, even by Mr. Knott's Book, that Mr. Chillingworth imputed to the Romish Religion any doctrine, or practice, which is not truly hers : and consequently he did not seek to make her *odious* in that sense. But if the true and faithfull representation he gives of her doctrine and practice, makes her

THE LIFE OF

elder kind of Protestants ; and left his Adversary in possession of being unanswered ; Mr. Chillingworth himself owns, that he did never pretend to defend Dr. Potter absolutely and in all things, but onely so far as he deffends Truth : but at the same time, he observes that he doth not find that he hath cause to differ from him in any matter of moment (f), and proves it by several instances. Mr. Chillingworth declares likewise,

(f) *The Religion of Protestants &c.* in the *Conclusion.* p. m. 389.

her really odious ; it is not the fault of the representer, but of the things represented. And in this last sense, it must be own'd that he makes the Popish Religion odious, when, for instance, shewing the difference between following the Scripture, and following the Church of Rome,

(1) *The Religion of Protestants &c.* Chap. VI. §. 66.

among other things, he says, „ (1) Following the Scripture I shall beleieve a Religion, which being contrary to flesh and blood, without any assistance from „ worldly power, wit, or policy ; nay, against all the „ power and policy of the world prevail'd and enlarg'd itselſe in a verie short time all the world over. „ Whereas it is too too apparent, that your Church hath „ got and still maintaines her authoritie over mens „ consciences, by counterfeiting false miracles, forging false stories, by obtruding on the world supposititious writings, by corrupting the monuments of „ former times, and defacing out of them all which „ any way makes against you, by warres, by persecutions, by Massacres, by Treasons, by Rebellions ; in „ short, by all manner of carnall means, whither violent or fraudulent “. Which passage Mr. Knott cites, without offering a word to disprove it (2). It

(2) See *Infidelity unmasked* &c. Chap. xv. §. 54, p. 929, 930.

may

wife, that his design is to defend *the common cause of Protestants* (g): and if so, how can he be said to have *fled to new Principles, and abandoned all the elder kind of Protestants*? If by *new Principles*, our Jesuit means Mr. Chillingworth's rejecting all human Authority, and asserting that *the Scripture is the only Rule of Faith*, or that *the Bible only is the Religion of Protestants*, he is under a very great mistake:

(g) *Ibid.*
Preface, §.
40.

may be be own'd also, that, in the same sense, he *makes* the Jesuites *odious*, when he says, that *Order envenoms even Poyson it self &c* (3).

(3) In his dedication to the King.

But let us suppose that the notion he gives of the Popish Religion amounts to this: *That it debars Men from the use of their senses, reason, and liberty, and from all the possible means of finding the truth; that it changes Virtue into Vice and Vice into Virtue: and in a word, that it is the most impious wicked contrivance that could ever be invented for the ruin and destruction of Mankind.*

Or suppose that he hath a description of it, equivalent to that of a very ingenious Author (4): *That Popery is such a thing as cannot, but for want of a word to express it, be called a Religion: nor is it to be mentioned with that civility which is otherwise decent to be used, in speaking of the differences of humane Opinion about Divine matters. Were it either open Judaism, pursues he, or plain Turkey, or honest Paganism, there is yet a certain Bonafides in the most extravagant Belief, and the sincerity of an erroneous Profession may render it more pardonable: but this is a compound of all the three, an extract of whatsoever is most ridiculous and impious in them, incorporated*

(4) *An Account of the Growth of Popery &c.* by Andrew Marvel: in the State Tracts, printed in 1689, p. 70.

with

(h) See
Rem.
(GG).

take : for these are the very *Principles*, all the elder kind of Protestants went upon (h). Let us now examine Mr. Knott's conclusion. Mr. Chillingworth, says he, hath left his Adversary in possession of being unanswered. Why then hath that Adversary spent so much ink and paper to reply ? Surely, he must have a great deal of time to spare, or be at a great loss what to do, to write a Volume in quarto of near a thousand

with more peculiar absurdities of its own, in which those were deficient ; and all this deliberately contrived, knowingly carried on, by the bold Imposture of Priests under the Name of Christianity, &c. Suppose, I say, Mr. Chillingworth had us'd these or the like expressions ; this would not be making the Romish Religion odious, but representing it as it is in itself, and in its direct and immediate consequences.

(f) See
Rem.(F);
n. (2);
and Rem.
(EE). n.
(3).

On the other side, whoever reads Mr. Knott's Book, and Pamphlets, will find his most contemning, disdain-
ing, proud, bitter, and even bloody, waite of answering, by seeking to make odious, both Mr. Chillingworth's person, when breaking thro' the common rules of decency and good manners; he does not vouchsafe to call him by his name, but only *this Man*, or *that Man* (f); and his Religion, when he represents him as a Socinian; and as one who destroys the certainty of Christian Faith &c. And in the same manner he treats, and is seeking to make odious the Religion and persons of Protestants, in charging their Principles with Socinianisme, Anti-Christianisme, and Atheisme. Is it not then most ludicrous to see our Jesuite censure Mr. Chillingworth for his

land pages, against the attacks of an *Adversary* who left him in possession of being unanswer'd! Why so many invectives; so much bitterness and resentment? Did ever an Author fall into these excesses, without being gall'd by his Adversary, and overpowered by his own passion? Our Jesuit is provoked to that degree, that he runs into the most absurd Fanaticism. He imagines that the late unhappy Troubles were a Judgment upon the Nation, for having countenanced and approved Mr. Chillingworth's Book:

Miserable

his invidious waie of answering, when he is himself the most guilty of it!

„ I was ever, says Mr. Smith (6), a great enemy to
 „ rancour in dispute, and am of that *Viscounts* mind,
 „ who thought, That there ought to be no more bit-
 „ terness in a *treatise of Controversie* then in a *Love-*
 „ *letter*. And therefore though I never saw Mr. Chil-
 „ *lingworth* (whom I find commended by Mr. * *Bax-*
 „ *ter* and other eminent Divines; and commended by
 „ his Adversaries for a devout and rationall man)
 „ yet I cannot but be moved with pitty and grief to
 „ see,

—, ἡπερ αὐτοί,

„ Νεκρὸν σῶμα λέοντος ἐφουβρίζεσι λαγῶν,

„ how Mr. Knott (who bespattereth *Casaubon*, and feve-
 „ rall other very learned men) insulteth over Mr. Chil-
 „ *lingworth* now being dead: who would not come

(6) Preface, ubi
 supr. p.
 17, 18.

* Is it not
 a shame
 that learn'd
 ed men
 should
 blame this
 [opinion
 concern-
 ing rea-
 son] in
Master
Chilling-
worth, Doc-
tour Ham-
mond, &c;
 and there-
 by advance
Socinia-
nisme, and
 ruine *Chri-*
stianity.
Saints rest.

Pref. to the
 2. part, p.
 18. & *supra*
alibi.

(i) Preface;

§. 3. P. 2.

Miserable Protestancy !, says he (i), That could find no Advocate, except an Enemy to it and all Christianity, who tooke this occasion, only to vent new Heresies, no less repugnant to Protestants, than to Catholiques. Did not Protestants foretell, and in fact propheticie, their owne ruine, in preferring this unhappy man, before all England, to be Defender of their Faith? Who can wonder, to behold that Nation swimming in desolation, and bloud, which indures to behold a Book published, approved, applauded, which purposely, and directly teaches, Christian Faith not to be infallibly true, and consequently, that whatsoever

„ near him to dispute while he was alive, though Mr.
 „ Chillingworth at sundry times and by severall ways
 „ entreated and solicited, nay pressed and importuned
 „ him to it, before the printing of this folio, (See The
 „ Answer to the direction to N. N. §. 4. and afterwards,
 „ as I am told by them that knew him) which he survived seven years. How after seventeen years studying to lay this *Hector* in the dust, Mr. Knot set forth
 „ a book, wherein (to speak first of the manner of his
 „ discourse) the chief thing he doth, is to scare his
 „ Reader with morms (*fortiter calumniando Antagonistam ut aliquid hereat*, as his policy was in *Tacitus*)
 „ chiefly bespattering him (and that almost in every
 „ page) with odious imputations of such opinions,
 „ whereof he cannot point us out *one* in all his volume,
 „ concerning which he (who best knew his own belief, and is long since gone to answer for it, good
 „ or bad) said more than once, as in his Answer to the
 „ directions to N. N. §. 28. *Whosoever teacheth or holdeth them* LET HIM BE ANATHEMA!

soever Christians have hitherto believed, of Scripture, of Christ, of all Christian verities, may (for ought they can certainly know to the contrary) prove fabulous, false, or no better than dreames.

Who would now think, that this tragical declamation is but a Chimera, a Fantom of Mr. Knott's own raising? and yet such a one as perfectly answer'd his design, to blacken and asperse Mr. Chillingworth. For there is not one Reader in a thousand, but will conceive that our Jesuit charges Mr. Chillingworth with *maintaining* that *Christian Faith*, that is, the Doctrine of Christianity reveal'd in the Gospel, *is not infallibly true*: whereas by the word *Faith*, Mr. Knott does not mean the Object of Faith, or divine revelation; but the Act of Faith, that is, that act of the mind by which we assent to divine truths. Therefore the question is, whether that assent, or act of the mind, is *infallible*: or, which amounts to the same, whether men are *infallible* in exerting that act of their mind, or assent: or, lastly, whether that assent is of the same nature with the assent which we give to a mathematical proposition? Mr. Knott affirms it, and *would fain have it true, that there might be some necessity of his Churches Infallibility* (k): but Mr. Chillingworth denies it, and shews it is both contrary to the nature of things, and derogatory from God's

(k) *The Religion of Protestants &c, Chap. vi, §. 4.*

(l) *Ibid.*
§. 3.

infinite wisdom and goodness. *I do heartily acknowledge, says he (l), and believe, the Articles of our faith be in themselves Truths, as certain and infallible as the very common Principles of Geometry and Metaphysicks. But that there is required of us a knowledge of them, and an adherence to them, as certain as that of sense or science, that such a certainty is required of us under pain of damnation, so that no man can hope to be in the state of salvation, but he that finds in himselfe such a degree of faith, such a strength of adherence: This I have already demonstrated to be a great error, and of dangerous and pernicious consequence. And because I am more and more confirm'd in my perswasion that the truth which I there delivered, is of great and singular use, I will here confirm it with more reasons, &c.*

(m) *Ibid.*
§. 8.

And some pages lower, „ Though I deny, says he (m), that it is required of us „ to be certain in the highest degree, infallibly certaine of the truth of the things „ which we beleeve, for this were to know „ and not beleeve, neither it is possible unlessse our evidence of it, be it naturall or „ supernaturall, were of the highest degree; „ yet I deny not, but wee ought to be and „ may be infallibly certain that we are to „ beleeve the Religion of Christ. For „ first, this is most certain, that we are in „ all

„ all things to doe according to wifdome
 „ and reason, rather than againſt it. Se-
 „ condly, this is as certain, That wifdome
 „ and Reaſon require that wee ſhould be-
 „ lieve theſe things which are by many de-
 „ grees more credible and probable than the
 „ contrary. Thirdly, this is as certain, That
 „ to every man who conſiders impartially
 „ what great things may be ſaid for the
 „ truth of Chriſtianity, and what poore
 „ things they are which may be ſaid againſt
 „ it, either for any other Religion or for
 „ none at all, it cannot but appeare by
 „ many degrees more credible, that Chriſ-
 „ tian Religion, is true than the contrary.
 „ And from all theſe premiſſes, this con-
 „ cluſion evidently followes, that it is
 „ infallibly certaine, that we are firmly to
 „ beleve the truth of Chriſtian Religion.

But all the reaſons of Mr. Chillingworth
 had no effect on Mr. Knott, who was re-
 ſolved to maintain that abſurd and ſophiſ-
 tical poſition (n), viz. that *Chriſtian Faith*
is infallibly true, becauſe it ſupported, as he
 thought, the Infallibility of his Church;
 whereby he took occaſion to raiſe all this
 clamour againſt Mr. Chillingworth. But
 the moſt abſurd of all is, that after having
 charged him upon that account with being
an Enemy to Proteſtancy, and all Chriſti-
anity, and venting new Hereſies, no leſs
repugnant to Proteſtants, than to Catho-

(n) See
 Mr. Smith,
Preface, u-
 bi ſupr. p.
 25. & ſeqq
 and Dr.
 Tillotſon's
Preface a-
 gainſt M
 Sergeant

liques ; he says, in another place, that this very Doctrine of Mr. Chillingworth, necessary flows from the Principles of the Protestants, who deny the Infallibility of the Church of Rome. „ And yet I confesse it to be

(o) *Infidelity unmasked &c,*
Chap. I. §.
§. p. 37.

„ a thing very certaine and euident, *says he (o)*,
„ that the deniall of infallibility in Gods
„ Church, for deciding controuerfyes of
„ Faith, must ineuitably cast men vpon this
„ desperate, vnchristian, and Antichristian
„ doctrine: and while *Protestants* mayn-
„ taine the Church to be fallible, they can-
„ not auoide this sequele, that their doc-
„ trine may be false; since without infal-
„ libility in the Church, they cannot be
„ absolutely certaine, that Scripture is the
„ word of God. O what scandall doe these
„ men cast on Christian Religion, by either
„ directly acknowledging, or laying grounds
„ from which they must yeild Christian
„ Faith not to be infallibly true; while
„ Iewes, Turks, Pagans, and all who pro-
„ fesse any religion, hold their belief to bee
„ infallible, and may justly vpbraide vs, that
„ euen Christians confesse themselues not to
„ be certaine that they are in the right, and
„ haue, with approbation of greatest men
„ in a famous Vniuersity, published to the
„ world such their sense and belief!

Which confession, stript of the scurrility and falshood usual to our Jesuit, shews that Mr. Chillingworth did, after all, reason con-
sistently

sistently with the Principles of Protestants. The only difference between him and the other Protestant Writers is, that he hath argued with greater clearness, strength, and consistency than any of them, tho' he proceeds upon the same Principles with them: which may be the cause of Mr. Knott's particular rancour and animosity against him.

I will conclude this Account of Mr. Knott's performance, with the Judgment of Mr. Smith upon the same :

„ The chief book, *says he* (p), that is (p) Pre-
 „ now [1653] extolled by our Romanists face, ubi
 „ is one lately set forth by Mr. Edward *supr.* p. 14,
 „ Knot, alias Nick. Smith, whose true & seqq.
 „ name is Matthew (q) Wilson, born at (q) Mat-
 „ Pegsworth neare Morpeth in Northum- thias, not
 „ berland; who was for severall years Pro- Matthew,
 „ fessor of Divinity at the English Colledge See above
 „ in Rome; then Vice-Proprietary; and Rem. (K).
 „ that he might finish this his last book the
 „ better, was made *Proprietary of all En-*
 „ *glish Jesuits*; all which I am informed
 „ by some of his owne Countrey-men and
 „ Society. The book is intituled *Infidelity*
 „ *unmasked, or the Confutation of Mr. Chil-*
 „ *lingworth, &c.* Wherewith if any wa-
 „ vering Protestant chance to be shaken
 „ in his belief (whereof though the Roma-
 „ nists generally boast much, I see no dan-
 „ ger because I have, after much enquiry,

„ not heard of two in England that have
 „ had the patience to read it over, 'Tis so
 * p. 52. §. „ full of monstrous * tenents and imperti-
 18. p. 337. „ nencies) I shall intreat (for his satisfacti-
 §. 75. p. „ on) to read likewise over Mr. *Chilling-*
 354. l. 20. „ *worth's* book, against which it was writ;
 p. 495. l. „ and he shall find *Mr. Chillingworth's* a
 31. p. 648. „ sufficient answer to it, if he please to
 l. ult. p. „ compare *Section* with *Section*, from the
 728. l. ult. „ beginning to the end of each. For he
 &c. p. 808. „ will perceive, That the most weighty ar-
 l. 20. pag. „ guments of Mr. *Chillingworth* (as all the
 812, l. 16. „ *Answer to the Directions of N. N.* that is,
 But I de- „ Mr. *Knott*, wherein *Master Chill.* drew
 light not „ up, and proved, an high charge of *Athe-*
 camarinam „ *isme* and *Socinianisme*, against Mr. *Knot*
 movere, „ and his party, and cleared himself; and
 since &c. „ so many places as it would be tedious to
 (r) See A „ specific) are passed by as the *sick man*, in
 View of „ the high way, was by *the few without*
 some Ex- „ notice taken: And the rest so jejune-
 ceptions „ ly handled, and so farre from a complete
 which have „ answer (though 'tis sufficiently known,
 been made „ That *Mr. Knott* being in such high place,
 by a Ro- „ and dividing part of the task among ma-
 manist to „ ny of his Inferiours, and making use of
 the Lord „ those three folio's writ by Mr. G. H. a-
 Viscount „ gainst *Mr. Chill.* [which *Dr. Hammond*
 Falkland's „ mentioneth in his unanswerable Defence
 Discourse „ of the *Lord Falkland* (r)] and other the
 of the In- „ like helps had all the humane advantages
 fallibilitie „ that could be had) so little touched, that
 of the „
 Church of „
 Rome, &c. „
 Oxford „
 1646, in „
 4^o. p. 31. „

„ methinks he may well unchristen his
 „ book a little more, and recall that $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$
 „ $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\phi\eta$, *The confutation of Mr. Chilling-*
 „ *worths book*, reserving onely the rest,
 „ *Infidelity unmasked*. And that in relation
 „ to himself.

Thus the learned and judicious Mr. Smith delivers his judgment upon Mr. Knott's work. Let us now return to Mr. Chillingworth.

The Archbishop having read his Book, and the King, who was an excellent judge in those matters, having probably done the same; they thought proper to confer upon the Author some considerable preferment. It was not long before they had an opportunity of doing it. Dr. Richard Mountague, Bishop of Chichester, was elected Bishop of Norwich in May 1638 (s), and Dr. Brian Duppa, Chancellor of Salisbury, having been promoted to that See (t); the Chancellorship of Sarum was given to Mr. Chillingworth, on the 20th of July; with the Prebend of Brixworth in Northamptonshire annexed to it (u). He then comply'd with the usual Subscription; as it appears by the Subscription-Book of the Church of Salisbury (PP).

(s) Le Neve, *Fastes Ecclesie Anglicane* &c. pag. 212.
 (t) *Ibid.* pag. 269.
 &c. 59.
 (u) See Rem.
 (PP).

„ About

(PP) *He then complied with the usual Subscription; as it appears by the Subscription-Book of the Church of Salisbury*. Dr. Sayer, that ingenious and learned Civilian,

(x) *Ubi*
supr. Vol.
 II. col. 21.

„ About the same time, *says Mr. Wood* (x),
 „ he was also rewarded with the Master-
 „ ship of *Wygstans* Hospital in the antient
 „ Borough of *Leycester*: Both which, and
 „ perhaps other preferments, he kept to his
 „ dying day “.

In

an, hath been pleas'd to procure me the following ac-
 count of that Book :

- (1) A Letter from „ (1) The Order and Method of the Subscription
 Mr. *Frome* „ Book in which Mr. Chillingworth hath subscribed,
 to Dr. *Ex-* „ and of such his Subscription therein, you'll find un-
 ton *Sayer*; „ derneath.
 dated *Se-* „ 1. The Oath of Supremacy.
 rum *March* „ 2. The Oath of Allegiance.
 28th 1721. „ 3. The Oath against Simony.
 I have the „ 4. The Oath of continual Residence.
 Original „ 5. The Oath of Canonick Obedience.
 in my „ 6. The three Articles contain'd in the xxxvith of
 hands. „ King James's Canons.
 „ 7. One single Subscription made in these words,
 „ viz. *Ego Robertus Bonython, Clericus, in Artibus Ma-*
 „ *gister, Rector de Wolhampton, admittendus ad Vicari-*
 „ *am de Thatcham una cum &c in Comitatu Berks, li-*
 „ *bens & ex animo hisce tribus Articulis superscriptis*
 „ *subscribo ultimo die Maii, Anno Domini 1622.*
 „ 8. Six pages of blank paper.
 „ 9. The xxxix Articles agreed on by the Archbi-
 „ shops and Bishops of both Provinces and the whole
 „ Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the
 „ year 1562; printed.
 „ 10. The Subscriptions of persons instituted and or-
 „ dain'd from the 18th of November 1621 to the time
 „ of Mr. Chillingworth's subscribing; who all sub-
 „ scrib'd

In the year 1640, Mr. Chillingworth was deputed by the Chapter of Salisbury, as their Proctor, to the Convocation which met with the Parliament, and was opened on

„ scrib'd in these words : viz. *Omnibus hisce Articulis, singulisque in iisdem contentis volens (libens) & ex animo subscribo, consensumq; meum iisdem præbeo.*

„ 11. Mr. Chillingworth's Subscription made in the words following, viz. *Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, Clericus, in Artibus Magister, ad Cancellariatum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Beatæ Mariæ Sarum, una cum Præbenda de Brixworth alias Bricklesworth in Comitatu Northampton Petriburgensis Diocæseos in eadem Ecclesiâ fundata & eidem Cancellariatui annexa, admittendus & instituendus, omnibus hisce Articulis & singulis in iisdem contentis volens & ex animo subscribo, & consensum meum eisdem præbeo 20 die Julii 1638.*

GULIELMUS CHILLINGWORTH.

„ 12. Subscriptions of other persons instituted and ordained from the said 20th of July 1638 to the 5th of August 1640, standing in a regular course and order, who subscribed in the same form of words.

„ 13. Some irregularly placed miscellaneous Subscriptions.

„ These are the whole contents of the Book, from &c.

And now it is evident, Mr. Chillingworth did actually subscribe; and that, in the legal Form (2): both which have been doubted of by several persons. It hath even been positively affirmed that he never subscribed

(2) See above p. 77.

(y) MSS. on the 14th of April (y). The Parliament
Hen. Whar- was dissolv'd on the 5th of May; and it was
zon, in Bib- expected the Convocation would also be
liotheca dissolv'd, as usual, the day after: but they
Lambeth. only adjourn'd for some days; and the King
Vol. A. p. having granted them a new Commission,
264. dated May the 12th, they continued sitting
also Nal- till the 29th of the same month; during
son, ubi in- which time, they dispatch'd the matters be-
fra, p. 353. fore them, that had been left unfinish'd.

They

(3) Mr.
 Knott af-
 firms it in
 his *Insule-*

luty un-
masked,
 Chap. I. §.
 24. p. 56.

(4) See
 Rem.
 (DD).

(5) *A Let-*
ter to Dr.
Snape, pre-
fix'd be-
fore Mr.
Pilloniere
his Reply to
Dr. Snape's
Vindication
of a Pas-
sage in his
second Let-
ter to the
Bishop of
Bangor re-
lating to
Mr. Pillo-
niere, &c.
Lond.
 1718. p.
 xliii, xlv.

scribed (3). The Lord Bishop of Bangor, now Lord
 Bishop of Salisbury, supposes that Mr. Chillingworth
 in his Book against Mr. Knott, *openly professes that he*
could not in conscience subscribe to the Articles of the
Church; and yet we have seen he declares *there*, that
he is ready to subscribe (4). However, from this suppo-
 sition his Lordship concludes, that Mr. Chillingworth's
 enjoying a *Preferment* in the Church, without subscrib-
 ing, was an effect of the *particular favour*, which the
great Church-men of those days had for him as a *Convert*
 from the Church of Rome:

„ Mr. Chillingworth, says he (5), was a Convert
 „ FROM Popery: But when He return'd from Po-
 „ pery, He was so far from being a Convert TO the
 „ Church of England, that in his Famous Defense of
 „ the Protestant Religion, He openly declares, He does
 „ not undertake the Defense of *that*, or any other
 „ Church, in particular, but the *General Principles*, and
 „ whole Cause of *Protestantism*. Nay, He there open-
 „ ly Professes that He could not in Conscience Sub-
 „ scribe to the *Articles* of the Church: Nor could He
 „ have enjoy'd any *Preferment* in it, but by the parti-

„ cular

They granted His Majesty a Subsidy of four shillings in the pound for six years, by the name of *Benevolence* or *Contribution*, to be levied upon the Clergy under the penalty of ecclesiastical Censures (z); and enacted several *Constitutions* and *Canons* (a), which being confirm'd by the King under the great Seal of England, were immediately printed.

(z) Nal-
son's *Im-
partial
Collections
of the great
affairs of
State, &c.*
Vol. I. pag.
533 &
seqq. See
also p.
373. 374.
(a) Ibid.
p. 542. &
seqq.

These

„ cular *Favour* of the *Great Church-Men* of those
„ Days; who had the Wisdom, and Generosity,
„ not to crush and ruine, but support and encourage a
„ *Convert*, tho' He did not agree with Them, even in
„ some of their darling Notions.

„ One of Mr. *Chillingworth's* Scruples was about
„ the *Athanasian Creed*; not only the *Damnatory Clau-
ses*, but the *Doctrine* it self, contained in it: To
„ which He could not *Subscribe*. I have seen *Two*
„ *Letters* under his own Hand, *One*, if not *both*, to
„ Dr. *Sheldon*, his great Friend; the same who was af-
„ terwards Archbishop. In *one* He particularly explains
„ some of his *Sentiments* entirely different from the
„ *Orthodox*: and endeavours to support them by the
„ earliest Antiquity. In the *Other*, He blesses God that
„ no Allurement; no Offer of *Preferment*; no Im-
„ portunity of his *Best Friends*, could prevail upon
„ Him, to make His Conscience uneasy by subscribing
„ the *Articles*: the doing of which, He thinks, would
„ have render'd his whole Life Uncomfortable. And
„ in this *Resolution*, tho' attended with Worldly In-
„ conveniencies,

(b) It began on the 3^d of November 1640.

(c) Nalson Vol. II. p. 285, 286.

(d) On the 3^d of May 1641. Dr.

Nalson, Vol. II. p. 260, says

it was the 3^d of June.

(e) Rushworth, Vol. IV.

2d an. 1641, p. 236.

These Proceedings of the Convocation were highly resented in the next Parliament (b) by the House of Commons, who declar'd them to be against the Right of Parliament and the Liberty of the Subject: and the Votes they pass'd on that occasion, were afterwards agreed to by the House of Lords (c). The Commons did likewise pass a Bill for punishing and fining the Members of the Convocation (d), wherein the Proctor for the Chapter of Salisbury was fin'd 1000 pounds (e): but this Bill dropt in the House of Lords.

The Earl of Clarendon gives us the following judicious account of those transactions:

„ conveniencies, He rejoices in such Strains of Triumph, as if the greatest of this World's Honours, and Preferments had just then been heap'd upon Him.

And some pages lower his Lordship says again, that

(6) *Ibid.* p. lii.

„ (6) Mr. *Chillingworth* after his *Re-conversion*, with all his Avow'd *Freedom of Principles*, and with all his profess'd *Scruples* against subscribing even to all the *Creeeds* of the *Church*, found *Sense*, and *Honour*, and *Wisdom* enough in the most zealous Men of the *Church of England*, to meet with *Encouragement*, *Approbation* and *Allowances*, beyond what was usual, even in the Case of Those who had ever been *Protestants*, and Members of the Church “.

All which, as we have seen, is contrary to matter of fact.

ons: „ The Convocation-House, *says he* (f), (f) *The History of the Rebellion, &c; Book II. Tom. I. p. 148, in 8°.*
 „ (the regular and legal assembling of the
 „ Clergy) customarily beginning and ending
 „ with Parliaments, was, after the determina-
 „ tion of the last, by a new Writ continued,
 „ and sate for the space of above a month
 „ under the proper title of a Synod; made
 „ Canons, which was thought it might do;
 „ and gave Subsidies out of Parliament,
 „ and enjoin'd Oaths, which certainly it
 „ might Not do: in a word, did many things
 „ which in the best of times might have
 „ been question'd, and therefore were sure
 „ to be condemn'd in the worst.... and
 „ drew the same Prejudice upon the whole
 „ body of the Clergy, to which before
 „ only some few Clergy-men were ex-
 „ pos'd.

Mr. Chillingworth was likewise deputed to the Convocation, which met the same year with the new Parliament, and was o-
 pen'd

As to what his Lordship asserts, that Mr. Chillingworth had *Scruples* about the *Doctrine* of the *Athanasian Creed* (which he must ground upon his Letter concerning Subscription); and that, in the other Letter relating to Arianism, *he particularly explains some of his Sentiments entirely different from the Orthodox, and endeavours to support them by the earliest Antiquity* (7): I shall only refer the Reader to the Letters themselves, and to what I have already observ'd on that occasion (8).

(7) His Lordship says elsewhere, that Mr. Chillingworth wrote in *Defense of the Arian Doctrine*. See his *short Remarks upon Dr. Snape's Letter to Mr. Mill's Book*, prefix'd to Mr. Pilloniere's *Third Defense* &c, p. xiii.
 (8) See above p. 92, and 51; and Rem. (P).

(g) MSS. pen'd on the 4th of November (g). But;
 Wharton. *there was no Commission granted, and there-*
ubi supr. fore no business propos'd and by the
 (h) A com- *Archbishop's Imprisonment, the regular Ses-*
 pleat His- *sions broke off, the Bishops discontinued their*
 tory of *Meeting, and the Lower-House by degrees*
 England, *dwindled away (h).*
 &c, Vol. III. ad. an.
 1640. p.

114 of the The affairs of the King and the Church
 2^d edit. began now to have a black and dismal as-
 (i) On the pect. The King endeavour'd to remove all
 15th of Fe- fears and jealousies by passing (i) an *Act for*
 bruary *the preventing of inconveniences happening*
 1641. *by the long intermission of Parliament,*
 Rushw. commonly call'd the *triennial Act*, because
 Part III. it was therein enacted, that every third year
 Tom. IV. there should be a new Parliament, which
 ad an. could not be dissolv'd or prorogued within
 1640, fol. fifty days, at least, after the time appointed
 88, 189. for their meeting, without the consent of

(k) Rush- both Houses &c. And,, (k) Upon his Ma-
 worth, „ jestys passing this Bill for Triennial Parli-
ibid. fol. „ aments, both Houses were exceedingly
 192 verso. „ full of Joy, and agreed to join in wait-
 „ ing upon the King, in their returning
 „ their humble thanks for the same; and
 „ his Majesty appointed the Banquetting-
 „ house at *Whitehall* to be the place for
 „ both Houses to meet to return their
 „ Thanks unto him: which was performed
 „ by the Mouth of the Lord Keeper in the
 „ name of both Houses; and Bonfires were
 „ made that night, and the Bells rung for
 „ joy “.

But

But the Parliament, it seems, could not be satisfied with this Act. Within less than three months time, a Bill was brought in, intitled, an *Act to prevent the inconveniences that may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing, and Dissolving the present Parliament*: importing that this Parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, unless it were by Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose (l). Which was making the Parliament an independent body, in opposition to the King himself; or to use the expression of a great man, *it was to remove the Landmarks, and to destroy the Foundation of the Kingdom* (m). And yet, his Majesty gave his royal Assent to that Bill, at the same time that the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford was pass'd (n). But the fatal consequences of it were soon felt. The King was obliged to retire to York (o), and the two Houses began now to treat with him, as with a discontented neighbouring Prince. They order'd an army to be rais'd, under the command of the Earl of Essex (p): whereupon the King set up his Standard at Nottingham (q). And thus ensued a Civil War.

In the year 1642, Mr. Chillingworth was put into the Roll with some other by his Majesty, to be created Doctor of Divinity: but he came not to take that Degree, nor was he diplomated (r).

T

While

(l) See Rushworth *ibid.* F. 264.
 (m) Clarendon *ubi supr.* Book III. Tom. I. p. 261.
 (n) On the 10th of May 1641.
 (o) The 19th of March 1641.
 (p) The 12th of July.
 (q) The 22nd of August: Rushworth *ubi supr.* p. 783. The Earl of Clarendon says it was the 25th of August; Book V. Tom. II. p. m. 720.
 (r) Wood, *Ath. Ox. Æn.* Vol. II. c. 711.

THE LIFE OF

While the Troops on both sides were taking and retaking Towns, and fighting for their respective parties: there was another sort of combat carried on, which tho' less dangerous to the lives of the persons who engaged in it, was not without effect: I mean that prodigious number of Sermons and Pamphlets, that were then publish'd on each side; besides some, and those very few, wherein it was endeavour'd to inspire Moderation. Several Ministers, countenanced by the Parliament, were continually animating the People, not only against Episcopacy and the Liturgy; but also against the Divines that approved some opinions and practices lately introduced into the Church; charging them with *Arminianism* (a name then odious) *Socinianism*, and *Popery*. Mr. Francis Cheynell, late Fellow of Merton Colledge, made himself very remarkable that way. *He was*, says Dr. Calamy (s), *a Man of considerable Learning and great Abilities. In the beginning of the War, he was mostly with the Earl of Essex: and when he was with him in Cornwall, he shew'd himself a very goodly Person, of great Strength and undaunted Courage; his Commands were as readily obeyed by any Colonels in that Army as the Generals own.* This military Divine preach'd several Sermons before the Lords and Commons, and wrote some Pamphlets, wherein he express'd

no

(s) *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers &c. who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration in 1660, &c. the 2^d edit. Lond. 1713, in 8^o p. 675.*

no less zeal and bravery for the cause, than in the field.

In the Year 1643 he came out with a Tract intituled, *The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme. Together with a plain discovery of a desperate designe of corrupting the Protestant Religion, whereby it appears that the Religion which hath been so violently contended for (by the Archbishop of Canterbury (t) and his adherents) is not the true pure Protestant Religion, but an Hotch-potch of Arminianisme, Socinianisme, and Popery. It is likewise made evident, that the Atheists, Anabaptists, and Sectaries so much complained of, have been raised or encouraged by the doctrines and practices of the Arminian, Socinian, and Popish Party.* That Pamphlet was printed by Order (u) of the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament concerning printing. Therein Mr. Cheynel charged several eminent Divines of the Church of England, especially the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Pötter, Mr. Hales, and Mr. Chillingworth, with favouring Arminianism, Socinianisme, and Popery; and endeavoured to prove it from their Books. I will give in the Remarks some account of his invectives against Mr. Chillingworth (QQ). Had he charged him

T 2. only

(t) The Archbishop was then a Prisoner in the Tower.

(u) Dated April the 18, 1643.

(QQ) *I will give some account of his invectives against Mr. Chillingworth*]. In the fourth Chapter which

only, with being a strenuous assertor of Episcopacy and the King's interest; he had not misrepresented him. For such he was in fact; as will appear hereafter.

In

(1) *The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism* &c. p. 34, 35.

Spreta haud exoleſcet ejusmodi calumnia, ſed agnita videtur apud nimis malos, aut nimis credulos, aut minus amicos. Vind. C. Barlæi P. 7.

which bears this title, *Whether England hath been, or still is in danger to be farther infected with Socinianism*, he hath this sting at Mr. Chillingworth: „ It is well known, says he (1), that the Arch-Bishop did highly favour, and frequently employ men shrewdly suspected for *Socinianism*. Master Chillingworth, to speak modestly, hath been too patient, being so deeply charged by *Knot* for his inclining towards some *Socinian* Tenets: no man in Saint *Ieromes* opinion ought to be patient in such a case, and sure no innocent man would be patient. Mr. Chillingworth hath not yet answered—*Christianity maintained*. The Protestants doe not own many of those principles which are scattered in Master Chillingworths book, and *Knot* could observe that he proceeded in a destructive way, just as the *Socinians* doe. The *Reformed Churches* abroad wonder that we could finde no better a *Champion* among all our Worthies; they who travailed hither out of forrain parts, blessed themselves when they saw so much froath and grounds; so much *Arminianism* and vanity in Master Chillingworths admired peece: What doth it advantage the *Protestants* cause, if the Pope be deposed from his infallible chair, and *Reason* enthroned that *Socinianism* may be advanced?

This rambling abusive way of writing runs through Mr. Cheynell's whole Pamphlet. And so he finds *Arminianism*, *Socinianism*, and even *Popery*, in the second edition of the Archbishop's Book against Fisher;

in

In the month of July following (x), Bristol was taken by Prince Rupert : and the King went thither to compose some differences between his principal Officers, about
 T 3 the

in Dr. Potter's Answer to Knott, &c ; and particularly in Mr. Chillingworth's *Religion of the Protestants* &c.

In the sixth Chapter wherein he undertakes to prove that *The Religion so violently contended for by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his adherents, is not the true pure Protestant Religion*, that is, the true rigid Calvinism ; he falls upon Mr. Chillingworth. „ Mr. Chillingworth, says he (2), proves undeniably that the (2) p. 71.
 „ Church of Rome is not Infallible, but to what end
 „ and purpose? why, that Rome and Canterbury may
 „ shake hands, the Pope may abate something in point
 „ of Supremacy, his Primacy being grounded upon his
 „ Infallibility ; but if the Pope, Cardinals, &c. the
 „ Archbishop of Canterbury and his adherents were united, the people would be unwilling to part with their
 „ Masse : why for that if they will but yeild thus farre,
 „ as to turne their Masse into English, the good men
 „ are agreed ; for Mr. Chillingworth tels the Papists, Mr. Chillingworth's
 „ that no Godly Lay man (that is, an ignorant Papist Answer to
 „ that is well conceited of the Masse) who is verily per- the Pre-
 „ swaded that there is neither impiety nor superstition in face of
 „ the use of their Latine Service shall be damned as he Charity
 „ hopes for being present at it ; Excellent Divinity ! A Maintained,
 „ strong perswasion will turn superstition and impiety into godlinesse. Yet he saith there is some danger as long as the Service is in Latine, because the
 „ want of that devotion which the frequent hearing
 „ the offices understood might happily beget in them,
 „ the

the Government of that place. It was then resolved to besiege Gloucester, a Place about twenty miles from Bristol, and of great importance for his Majesty's service.

The

„ the want of that instruction and edification which
 „ it might afford them, may very probably hinder the
 „ salvation of many, which otherwise might have been
 „ saved ; that is, might have been saved if the *Service*
 „ had beene in *English* ; this is plaine dealing, the men
 „ are likely to agree, the *Masse* in English may beget
 „ such devotion, afford such instruction and edification,
 „ as is sufficient for salvation. Can the Papists desire
 „ *fairer quarter*, or a fuller acknowledgment ? Is not
 „ this doctrine sufficient to effect *an Accommodation be-*
 „ *tweene Rome and Canterbury*. I dare say all the *Pa-*
 „ *pists in England* will *fight* for such a *Protestant Re-*
 „ *ligion*.

And in order to shew how dangerous are Mr. Chillingworth's Principles, he sets down, and animadverts upon, some of them. „ I cannot stand, *says he* (3), to
 „ reckon up Mr. *Chillingworth* principles, consider
 „ these that follow.

(3) p. 71.
72, 73.

„ 1. God is not *offended with us for not doing what*
 „ *hee knowes we cannot doe*.

The an-
 swer to
 the Pre-
 face, p. 19.
 In the
 same Pre-
 face.
 The se-
 cond Pre-
 face, p. 1.

„ 2. Mr. Chillingworth is verily perswaded that *God*
 „ *will not impute errours to them as sinnes, who use such*
 „ *a measure of industry in finding truth, as humane pru-*
 „ *dence and ordinary discretion (their abilities, and op-*
 „ *portunities, their distractions and hinderances, and all*
 „ *other things considered) shall advise them unto, in a mat-*
 „ *ter of such consequence*.

„ Mr.

The Siege began on the 10th of August: but it *proceeded* (y) *very slowly*: for though (y) Cla-
the Army encreased wonderfully there, by rendon;
the access of Forces from all Quarters, yet Book VII.
the King had neither Money nor materials Tom. III.
requisite for a Siege, and they in the Town ubi supra
behaved themselves with great Courage and P. 341.
Resolution, and made many sharp and bold
Sallies upon the King's Forces, and Did
more hurt commonly than they Receiv'd;
and many Officers of Name, besides common
Soldiers, were slain in the Trenches and (z) Collo-
Approaches; the Governour (z) leaving no- nel Maffey,
 T 4 *thing*

„ 3. Mr. Chillingworth thinkes it sufficient to be- Cap. 2.
 „ leave all those bookes of Scripture (to be Gods Sect. 38.
 „ Word) of whose Authority there was never any pag. 64.
 „ doubt made in the Church: hee cannot in reason be-
 „ leave the other bookes so undoubtedly as those books
 „ which were never questioned, and he hath the ex-
 „ ample of Saints in heaven to justify or excuse his
 „ doubting, nay his denyall“. Mr. Cheynell misre-
 „ presents here Mr. Chillingworth, and perverts his
 „ meaning.

„ 4. It is enough to beleave by a kind of Implicite Answer to
 „ faith, that the Scripture is true in Gods own sense the Pre-
 „ and meaning, though you know not what God face, Sect.
 „ meant, if you use such industry as ordinary discretion 26.
 „ shall advise for the knowing of Gods meaning“. Mr. Chillingworth is here again misrepresented: and
 „ these few passages are sufficient to give a notion of Mr.
 „ Cheynell and his Pamphlet.

thing unperform'd that became a vigilant Commander.

(a) See
Rem.
(RR).

(b) Vol.
II. Part
III. ad an.
1643.
Tom. VI.
p. m. 238,
239.

Mr. Chillingworth happen'd then to be in the King's Army before Gloucester (a); and observing that they wanted materials to carry on the Siege, he suggested the making of some Engines, after the manner of the Roman *Testudines cum pluteis*, in order to storm the place. „ On Sunday, „ *Septemb. 3., says Mr. Rushworth (b),* the „ People being at Church in the Town, „ were inform'd, That the Besiegers had „ Planted store of Cannon-baskets at the „ East-Gate, within less than half Musket- „ shot, and 'twas believed intended a Bat- „ tery there, upon the Springing of their „ Mine; whereupon the Minister dismiss'd the Congregation without a Sermon; and „ they fell to lining the Houses over the „ East-Gate, and making a strong Breast- „ work cross the *East-Gate-Street*. The „ King's Forces, by the Direction of Dr. „ *Chillingworth*, had provided certain En- „ gines, after the manner of the Roman „ *Testudines cum Pluteis*, wherewith they „ intended to Assault the City between the „ South and West Gates; They ran upon „ Cart-Wheels, with a *Blind* of Planks „ Musquet-proof, and holes for four Mus- „ queteers to play out of, placed upon the „ Axle-tree to defend the Musqueteers and „ those that thrust it forwards, and carry- „ ing

ing a Bridge before it; the Wheels were
 to fall into the Ditch, and the end of the
 Bridge to rest upon the Towns Breast-
 works, so making several compleat Bridges
 to enter the City. To prevent which,
 the Besieged intended to have made ano-
 ther Ditch out of the Works, so that the
 Wheels falling therein, the Bridge would
 have fallen too short of their Breastworks
 into their wet Mote, and so frustrated that
 Design (RR).

But

(RR) *And so frustrated their design*. I believe Mr. Rushworth took these particulars, concerning Mr. Chillingworth's Engines, out of the *Relation of the Siege of Gloucester*, written by Mr. Corbet, a famous Presbyterian Minister, who was then Chaplain to Colonel Massey, Governour of Gloucester. I have not seen that Relation: but I find the same Engines mention'd in another Piece of Mr. Corbet, entitled: *An historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester, from the beginning of the civill Warre, betweene King and Parliament to the Removall of Colonell Massie from that Government to the Command of the Westerne Forces*-(1). „ Besides their mine and battery, says he
 „ (2), they [*the Besiegers*] framed great store of those
 „ unperfect and troublesome engines to assault the low-
 „ er parts of the City. Those engines ran upon wheels,
 „ with planks musket proof, placed on the Axel-tree,
 „ with holes for musket-shot, and a bridge before it,
 „ the end whereof (the wheels falling into the ditch)
 „ was to rest upon our breastworks.

(1) Printed, London 1645, in 4°.
 (2) *An historical Relation*, &c; pag. 51.

Now

(c) On the
5th of Sep-
tember.

But whether the Besieged would have been able to prevent the effect of Mr. Chillingworth's Machines, is uncertain: for before that design could be put in execution, the Earl of Essex march'd with his Army to the relief of the Town; and was by that time within view of the Besiegers, who were obliged to raise the Siege (c).

The

- Now that Mr. Chillingworth was actually in that Siege, this appears by the Answer of Bishop Barlow to a Letter of one of his friends, which had „ (3) quoted „ a Book of Mr. Corbet mentioning Mr. Chillingworth „ very unworthily, viz. *The Relation of the Siege of „ Glocester*, where in p. 12. he saith, *we understood that „ the Enemy (i. e. the Army of King Charles the First) „ had by the direction of the Jesuitical Doctor Chilling- „ worth, provided great store of Engines, after the man- „ ner of the Roman Testudines cum pluteis, with which „ they intended to have assaulted the parts of the City, „ between the South and West Gates, &c.* “ To which, the Bishop returns the following Answer: „ For (4) *ibid.* p. 346. „ Mr. Chillingworth, says he (4), none ever question'd „ his Loyalty to his King; what Corbet (in his Book „ you mention) writes of him, that he was in the Siege „ of Glocester in the King's Army, assisting it to take „ the City, is a great commendation of his Loyalty „ and Truth; for I know Mr. Chillingworth was there „ in the Siege, (but whether as a Chaplain or Assistant, „ only I know not.) For going thither to see Sir „ William Walter my good Friend, who was a Com- „ mander there, I did also see Mr. Chillingworth a- „ mongst the Commanders there.

The next month, the King being at Oxford, Mr. Chillingworth preach'd before his Majesty, at the publick Fast, a Sermon which was afterwards publish'd by his Majesty's command (SS). He took for his Text these words of the second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy (d): *This know also, that in the last dayes perillous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their owne selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to Parents, unthankfull, unholy, without naturall affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God. Having a forme of godlinessse, but denying the power thereof.*

(d) 2 Tim.
Chap. 3. v.
1, 2, 3, 4,
5.

This

(SS) Mr. Chillingworth preach'd before his Majesty, at the publick Fast, a Sermon which was afterwards printed by his Majestys command]. It was printed at Oxford in 1644, with this title: *A Sermon preached at the publicke Fast before his Majesty at Christ-Church in Oxford. By William Chillingworth. Published by command since his death* (1). In order to understand what is meant by the publicke Fast, we must observe that on the 8th of January 164^r, the King appointed a general Fast to be kept on the last Wednesday of every Month, during the troubles of the Kingdom of Ireland (2). But finding that the Parliamentary Divines took an advantage of these publick meetings to move and stir up the people against the royal cause, in their Prayers and Sermons; his Ma-

(1) In 4^o
page. 30.

(2) See
Rushworth's Col-
lections,
Vol. V. p.
494. ad
an. 1641.

jeſty,

This Sermon is not only remarkable for that strength of reason, which seems to have been our Author's peculiar talent: but also for the eloquent adresses, patherick and affectionate exhortations, whereby he endeavours to enforce the practice of Virtue and Piety. And, what is esteemed the perfection of such performances, the Christian O-
 rator appears every where expressing the inward suggestions of his heart, and sensibly touched with the excellency and necessity of the great truths and dutys he recommends (e). The two following passages may give the Reader a notion of the whole piece.

(e) Si vis
 me flere,
 dolendum
 est Primum
 ipse tibi.
 Horat. de
 Arte Poet.
 v. 102,
 103.

After having represented and deplored the general Corruption of Christians in contempt

jesty, who had retir'd to Oxford, did on the 8th of October 1643, forbid continuing that monthly *Fast* any longer; and, at the same time, order'd, that for the future another *general Fast* should be held *on the second Friday in every Month* (3). In consequence of that order, Mr. Chillingworth preach'd his *Sermon*; probably on the 13th of October, which was the *second Friday* in that Month.

(3) Idem,
 Vol. VI. p.
 364. ad
 an. 1644.

I have another edition of that *Sermon*, with this title: *A Sermon preach'd before his Majesty at Reading, by William Chillingworth* (4); and in the title it is said to be printed at *Oxford*, in the year 1644: but as that above-mention'd, is certainly the original Edition, this seems to have been procured privately at *London*, by some person well affected to the King.

(4) In 4^o
 pagg. 25.

tempt of the holy writs, Mr. Chillingworth applys it to the present occasion.

„ To come a little nearer to the businesse

„ of our times, *says he (f)*, the chiefe Actors

„ in this bloody Tragedy, which is now

„ upon the Stage, who have robb'd our

„ Sovereign Lord the King of his Forts,

„ Townes, Treasure, Ammunition, Houses,

„ of the Persons of many of his Subjects,

„ and (as much as lyes in them) of the

„ hearts of all of them: Is it credible that

„ they know and remember and consider

„ the example of *David* recorded for their

„ instruction, *Whose heart smote him when*

„ *he had cut off the hemme of Sauls gar-*

„ *ment?*

(f) *A Sermon preached at the publick Fast before his Majesty at Christ-Church in Oxford &c. p. 11—14. of the true Oxford edit. 1644. See Rem. (SS). 1 Sam. 24. 11.*

„ They that make no scruple at all of

„ fighting with His Sacred Majesty, and

„ shooting Musquets and Ordnance at Him

„ (which sure have not the skill, to choose

„ a Subject from a King) to the extreme

„ hazard of his Sacred Person, whom by

„ all possible obligations they are bound to

„ defend, do they know (think you) the

„ generall rule without exception or limi-

„ tation left by the Holy Ghost for our

„ direction in all such cases, *Who can lift*

„ *up his hand against the Lords Anoynted,*

„ *and be innocent?* or doe they consider his

„ Command in the *Proverbs of Solomon,*

„ *My sonne feare God and the King, and*

„ *meddle not with them that desire change?*

1 Sam. 26.
9.
Prov. 24.
21.

„ Or

Ecclef. 8.
2.

„ Or his councell in the Booke of *Eccle-*
 „ *siastes*, *I councell thee to keepe the Kings*
 „ *Commandment, and that in regard of the*
 „ *Oath of God?* or because they possibly
 „ may pretend that they are exempted from,
 „ or unconcerned in the commands of o-
 „ bedience delivered in the Old Testament,
 „ doe they know and remember the pre-
 „ cept given to all Christians by *S. Peter*,

1 Pet. 2, 13.

„ *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of*
 „ *man, for the Lords sake, whether it be to the*
 „ *King as Supream, or unto Governors, as un-*
 „ *to them that are sent by him?* or that terrible

Rom. 13,
2.

„ sanction of the same command, *They that*
 „ *resist shall receive to themselves damnati-*
 „ *on*, left us by *St. Paul* in his Epistle to
 „ the *Romans*; who then were the misera-
 „ ble Subjects of the worst King, the worst
 „ man, nay, I think I may adde truly, the
 „ worst beast in the world, that so all re-
 „ bells mouths might be stopt for ever, and
 „ left without all colour or pretence what-
 „ soever to justifie resistance of Sovereign
 „ power. Undoubtedly if they did know
 „ and consider and lay close to their hearts,
 „ these places of Scripture, or the fearfull

Numb. 16,
32.

„ judgment which befell *Corah, Dathan,*
 „ and *Abiram*, for this very sinne which
 „ now they commit and with a high hand
 „ still proceed in, it would be impossible
 „ but their hearts should smite them, as
 „ *Davids* did, upon an infinitely lesse oc-
 „ casion, and affright them out of those

„ wayes

„ wayes of present confusion, and eternall
 „ damnation. And then on the other side,
 „ they that maintain the Kings righteous
 „ cause with the hazard of their lives and
 „ fortunes; but by their oathes and curses,
 „ by their drunkenness and debauchery,
 „ by their irreligion and prophaneſſe,
 „ fight more powerfully againſt their partie,
 „ then by all other meanes they doe or can
 „ fight for it, are not I feare very well ac-
 „ quainted with any part of the Bible; but
 „ that ſtrict caution which properly con-
 „ cerns themſelves in the booke of *Deut.*
 „ 23. 9. I much doubt they have ſcarce
 „ ever heard of it, *When thou goeſt to Wars*
 „ *with thine Enemies, then take heed there*
 „ *be no wicked thing in thee,* not only no
 „ wickedneſſe in the cauſe thou maintain-
 „ eſt, nor no wickedneſſe in the means by
 „ which thou maintaineſt it, but no perſo-
 „ nall impieties in the perſons that main-
 „ taine it. Beloved, for the former two,
 „ we have reaſon to be full of comfort
 „ and confidence; For what is our cauſe?
 „ What is that which you fight, and we
 „ pray for? but to deliver the King and all
 „ his good Subjects out of the power of
 „ their Enemies, who will have no peace
 „ but with their ſlaves and vaſſals? and for
 „ the meanes by which it is maintained, it
 „ is not by lying, it is not by calumnies, it
 „ is not by running firſt our ſelves, and
 „ then

THE LIFE OF

„ then forcing the people to universall
 „ perjury ; but by a just war, because ne-
 „ cessary, and by as faire and mercifull a
 „ Warre as if they were not Rebels and
 „ Traitors you fight against, but Competi-
 „ tors in a doubtfull Title. But now for
 „ the third part of the caution, that, to
 „ deale ingenuously with you, and to deli-
 „ ver my owne soule, if I cannot other
 „ mens, that I cannot think of with halfe
 „ so much comfort as the former ; but sec-
 „ ing so many *Ionasses* imbarqued in the
 „ same ship, the same cause with us, and
 „ so many *Achan's* entering into Battel
 „ with us against the *Canaanites*, seing Pub-
 „ licans and sinners on the one side, against
 „ Scribes and Pharisees on the other ; on
 „ the one side Hypocrisy, on the other pro-
 „ phaness, no honesty nor justice on the
 „ one side, and very little piety on the o-
 „ ther ; On the one side horrible oathes,
 „ curses and blasphemies ; On the other
 „ pestilent lyes, calumnies and perjury :
 „ When I see amongst them the pretence
 „ of reformation, if not the desire, pursu-
 „ ed by Antichristian, Mahumetan, devil-
 „ lish meanes ; and amongst us little or no
 „ zeal for reformation of what is indeed a-
 „ misse, little or no care to remove the
 „ cause of Gods anger towards us, by just,
 „ lawfull, and Christian meanes ; I professe
 „ plainly I cannot without trembling con-
 „ sider

„ sider what is likely to be the event of
 „ these distractions; I cannot but feare that
 „ the goodnesse of our cause may sinke under
 „ the burthen of our sinns: And that God
 „ in his justice, because we will not suffer
 „ his Judgments to acheive their prime
 „ scope and intention, which is our amend-
 „ ment and reformation, may either deli-
 „ ver us up to the blind zeale and fury of
 „ our Enemies; or else, which I rather
 „ feare, make us instruments of his justice
 „ each against other, and of our owne just
 „ and deserved confusion. This I profess
 „ plainly is my feare, and I would to God
 „ it were likewise the feare of every Soul-
 „ dier in His Majesties Army; but that
 „ which increaseth my feare is, that I see
 „ very many of them have very little or
 „ none at all: I meane not that they are
 „ fearlesse towards their Enemies, (that's our
 „ joy and Triumph) but that they shew
 „ their courage even against God, and feare
 „ not him, whom it is madnesse not to
 „ feare. Now from whence can their not
 „ fearing him proceed; but from their not
 „ knowing him, their not knowing his
 „ will and their owne duty? not knowing
 „ how highly it concerns Souldiers, above
 „ other professions to be religious, and
 „ then if ever when they are engaged in
 „ dangerous adventures, and every moment
 „ have their lives in their hands, *When they*

„ goe to Warre with their Enemies, then
 „ to take heed there be no wicked thing in
 „ them.

(g) *Ibid.* p.
 28, 29.

And in the conclusion „ let me intreat you,
 „ says he (g), to consider the fearful judgment
 „ which God hath particularly threatned to
 „ this very sinne of *drawing nigh unto him*
 „ *with our lips, when our hearts are farre*
 „ *from him*: It is the great judgment of
 „ being given over to *the spirit of slumber and*
 „ *securitie*, the usual fore-runner of speedy
 „ desolation and destruction, as we may
 „ see in the 29 chap. of *Esaiah* from the
 „ 9 to the 14 verse: *Stay your selves and*
 „ *wonder, cry ye out, and cry, they are*
 „ *drunken but not with wine, they stagger*
 „ *but not with strong drinke: for the Lord*
 „ *hath powered out upon you the spirit of*
 „ *deepe sleepe, and hath closed your eyes.*
 „ *The Prophets and your Rulers, the seers*
 „ *hath he covered*: and after, at the 14
 „ verse, *The wisdome of their wise men*
 „ *shall perish, and the understanding of their*
 „ *prudent men shall be hidde*. Certainly
 „ this judgement if ever it were upon any
 „ people, we have cause to feare it is now
 „ upon us. For if the spirit of *deepe sleepe*
 „ were not upon us, how could wee sleepe
 „ so securely, even upon the brinke of the
 „ pit of perdition? how could wee pro-
 „ ceed on so confidently in our mirth
 „ and jollity, nay in our crying sins and
 „ horrible

„ horrible impieties; now when the hand
 „ of God is upon us, and wrath is gone
 „ out, and even ready to consume us?
 „ And if the wisdom of our wise men
 „ were not perished, how were it possible
 „ they should so obstinately refuse the se-
 „ curity offered of our lawes, liberties, and
 „ religion by the King's Oath, by his ex-
 „ crations on himselfe, and his posterity,
 „ in case hee should violate it, by the
 „ oaths of all his Ministers, not to con-
 „ sent to, or be instruments in such a vi-
 „ olation, by the so much desired *Triennial*
 „ *Parliament*, from which no transgressor
 „ can possibly be secure; and instead of all
 „ this security, seeke for it by a civill
 „ warre, the continuance whereof must
 „ bring us to destruction and desolation,
 „ or else he hath deceived us by whom
 „ we are taught, *That a Kingdom divided* Mat. 23.
 „ *against it selfe cannot stand.* 25.

Soon after Mr. Chillingworth's Death,
 the King ordered that Sermon to be print-
 ed (b); and this is the only Sermon of his
 that was published before the Restorati-
 on (TT).

U 2

The

(TT) *This is the only Sermon of his that was*
publish'd before the Restoration]. His other Ser-
 mons, with this prefix'd before them, were printed
 in the year 1664 (1), with this title: *Nine Ser-* (1) See
mons: the first preached before his Majesty King Rem. (77).
Charles

The Parliament having been alarm'd by the success of the King's Forces, call'd the Scotch to their assistance; and they sent an

Charles the first: the other eight upon special and eminent Occasions. The Publisher tells us, in a short Advertisement, that „ These Sermons were, by the Godly and „ Learned Author of them, fitted to the Congregations „ to which he was to speak; and no doubt intended only for the benefit of Hearers, not of Readers. Nevertheless, it was the desire of many that they might be published, upon the hope of good that might be done to the Church of God by them. There is need, pursues he, of plain Instructions to incite men to holiness of life, as well as accurate Treatises in Points Controverted, to discern Truth from Error. For which end I dare promise these Sermons will make much, where they find an honest and humble Reader. It was the Author's greatest care (as you may find in the reading of them) To handle the Word of God by manifestation of the truth, commending himself to every mans conscience in the sight of God: as once St. Paul pleaded for himself, 2 Cor. 4. 2. And if that be the property (which they say) of an eloquent and good speaker, Non ex ore, sed ex pectore, To speak from his heart rather than his tongue; then surely this Author was an excellent Orator, one that spake out of sound understanding with true affection.

(1) See above p. 283. The first Sermon preach'd before the King (2), is not reprinted here from the Oxford edition, which is the most perfect; but from the other impression, mention'd in the foregoing Remark. And the editor takes no notice of its having been printed already; nor upon what special

an Army into England in the beginning of the Year 1643-4. But some time before it march'd, several Declarations were
 U 3 published

cial and eminent occasions, this, and the other eight Sermons, were preach'd. These are:

2. On PSALM xiv. 1. *The Fool hath said in his heart, There is no God:* preach'd on a Communion-day.

3. On the same Text.

4. On LUKE ix. 23. *Let him deny himself.*

5. On ROM. viii. 34. *Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, Yea rather that is risen again:* preach'd on Easter-day.

6. On LUKE xvi. 9. *Make to your selves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.*

7. On LUKE xix. 8. *And if I have defrauded any man by forged cavillation, I restore unto him four fold.*

8. Gal. v. 5. *For we through the Spirit, wait for the hope of Righteousness by Faith:* preach'd on the Feast of Epiphany.

9. 1 COR. x. 13. *God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.*

These Sermons, as the Publisher justly observes, were fitted by the Author, to the Congregations to which he was to speak, and intended only for the benefit of Hearers, not of Readers: but yet, a judicious Reader may soon perceive that they come from a masterly hand. He will find in them a noble simplicity, attended with sublime and exalted thoughts; and a constant unfeigned zeal for the glory of God, and the good of Men's souls. As an instance of this, I shall transcribe here what he says, concerning that vile, barbarous, un-Christian practice of Duelling, in his sixth Sermon. His Text was,
 Make

published in Scotland, endeavouring to justify that attempt: such as, *a Declaration of Reasons for assisting the Parliament of England*

Make to your selves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness &c; and in the second Part of it, in a digression, he makes the following pathetick exhortation:

(A) Sixth
Sermon,
&c. §. 33
—36. of
the edit.
1664.

„ But before I quit my self, *says he* (3), and ease you
„ of further prosecution of this point, I shall desire you
„ all to suffer one word of Exhortation, and if there
„ be any here whom it may more neerly concern, I
„ beseech them even by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that
„ they will suffer too a word of most necessary re-
„ proof: And though what I shall say, doth not natu-
„ rally flow from the words in hand, yet they bear a
„ reasonable resemblance and proportion with them:
„ So pertinent, I am sure, they are to the Auditory to
„ whom I speak, that I would chuse rather quite to
„ lose my Text, then here to leave them unsaid.

„ It is about making friends too: Indeed, not with
„ the Mammon of unrighteousness: No, that is a trifle
„ to it. It is about making friends with not revenging
„ of injuries, with patient bearing and willing forgiv-
„ ing of offences: A duty so seriously, so incessantly,
„ sometimes in plain words, sometimes in Parables,
„ all manner of ways, upon all occasions, urg'd by
„ our Saviour, that wee cannot so much as pray, but
„ we must be forc'd to acknowledg obedience to this
„ Law, *Forgive us, — As we forgive*: Yea, so bound-
„ lessly, and without all restrictions or reservations, is
„ it enjoyn'd, That when as *Peter* thought it fair to
„ have it limited to a certain number, and proposed
„ Seven, as, in his opinion, reasonable and conveni-
„ ent; No, says our Saviour, *Forgive not until seven*
times,

*England against the Papist and Prelatical
Army, by the general Assembly of the
Kirck of Scotland: a short Declaration of*
U 4 *the*

„ times, but until four hundred fourscore and ten times:
„ And if he could have imagined, that it were possible,
„ for a man to have exceeded even this number also
„ in injuries, without question, he would not have left
„ there neither.

„ But, How is this Doctrin received in the
„ world? What counsel would men, and those none
„ of the worst sort give thee in such case? How
„ would the soberest, discreetest, well-bred Christians
„ advise thee? Why thus, If thy Brother, or thy Neigh-
„ bour, have offered thee an injury or an affront, for-
„ give him? By no means: Thou art utterly undone,
„ and lost in thy reputation with the world if thou
„ dost forgive him: What is to be done then? Why,
„ let not thy heart take rest, let all other business and
„ employment be laid aside, till thou hast his blood:
„ How? a mans blood for an injurious passionate
„ speech, for a disdainful look? Nay, that is not all:
„ That thou may'st gain amongst men the reputation
„ of a discreet well-tempered Murderer, be sure thou
„ killest him not in passion, when thy blood is hot and
„ boyling with the provocation; but proceed with as
„ great temper and settledness of reason, with as much
„ discretion and preparedness as thou wouldest to the
„ Communion: After some several dayes respite, that
„ it may appear it is thy Reason guides thee, and not
„ thy Passion: Invite him mildly and courteously into
„ some retired place, and there let it be determined;
„ whether his blood or thine shall satisfy the injury.

„ Oh thou Holy Christian Religion! Whence is it
„ that thy children have suck'd this inhumane poyson-

“ous

the Kingdom of Scotland, relating to their intended advance into England: The Declaration of the Convention of the Estates of

„ ous blood, these raging fiery Spirits? For if we shall
 „ enquire of the Heathen, they will say, They have
 „ not learned this from us; or the Mahumetan, they
 „ will answer, We are not guilty of it: Blessed God!
 „ that it should become a most sure settled course for
 „ a man to run into danger and disgrace with the
 „ world, if he shall dare to perform a Commandment
 „ of Christ, (which is as necessary for him to do, if he
 „ have any hopes of attaining Heaven, as meat and drink
 „ is for the maintaining of life!) That ever it should
 „ enter into Christian hearts to walk so curiously and
 „ exactly contrary unto the ways of God! That where-
 „ as He sees himself every day and hour almost con-
 „ temn'd and despis'd by thee who art his Servant, his
 „ creature, upon whom he might without all possible
 „ imputation of unrighteousness pour down the Vials
 „ of his wrath and indignation, yet He, notwithstand-
 „ ing is patient and long-suffering towards thee, hop-
 „ ing that his long-suffering may lead thee to repent-
 „ ance, and beseeching thee daily by his Ministers to be
 „ reconcil'd unto him: And yet thou on the other side
 „ for a distemper'd passionate speech, or less, shouldst
 „ take upon thee to send thy neighbours soul, or thine
 „ owne, or likely both, clogg'd and oppress'd with all
 „ your sins unrepented of (for how can repentance
 „ possibly consist with such a resolution?) before the
 „ Tribunal seat of God to expect your final sentence:
 „ utterly depriving thy self of all the blessed means
 „ which God hath contrived for thy Salvation, and
 „ putting thy self in such an estate, that it shall not be
 „ in

of the Kingdom of Scotland concerning this present expedition.

Mr.

„ in Gods power almost to do thee any good. Par-
 „ don, I beseech you, my earnestness, almost intempe-
 „ rateness, seing it hath proceeded from so just, so
 „ warrantable a ground; And since it is in your power
 „ to give rules of honour and reputation to the whole
 „ Kingdom, do not you teach others to be ashamed of
 „ this inseparable Bodg of your Religion, Charity and
 „ forgiving of offences; give men leave to be Chri-
 „ stians without danger or dishonour; Or, if Religi-
 „ on will not work with you, yet let the Laws of
 „ that State wherein you live, the earnest desires and
 „ care of your Righteous Prince prevail with you.

Mr. Chillingworth was highly offended at this abominable practice, which is peculiar to the Christians only, and gives Pagans, Turks, and Infidels occasion to upbraid them as the most immoral of all men. And it must be confess'd, that their Christianity is so different from the true holy Principles of JESUS CHRIST, that they have hardly any thing from him except the name of *Christians*. Mr. Chillingworth was so shock'd at this extravagant Custom, that he took all convenient opportunities to exclaim against it; as appears likewise by his third Sermon (4), wherein he hath most of the same expressions above recited. But I must observe here, that there are several inaccuracies of style in them, which are so gross, that they cannot be attributed to him.

(4) Sect.
38, 39.

The Publisher of these Sermons hath indeed done the part of a pious man, but not of a Critick. He does not tell us whether they are printed from Mr. Chillingworth's own Manuscript, or only from a Transcript:

Mr. Chillingworth having read these Papers, thought it might be of some advantage to the King's interest to answer them. He therefore *extracted* several *passages out of the Scotch Declarations*, and made *Observations* upon them; in order to write a *Treatise* against the Scots. He examined also the general question of Resistance to Princes, and maintain'd *the Unlawfulness of resisting the lawfull Prince, although most impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous*. But these pieces have not been, as yet, printed (VV).

While

Transcript: and if so, every body knows how such transcripts may be vitiated, or even interpolated. We ought therefore to make great allowances in this case in behalf of the Author; and forbear passing any rash judgment upon him, with respect to these imperfect Remains.

(VV) *But these pieces have not been, as yet, printed*. In the Manuscripts of Mr. Henry Wharton, bought by Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, and presented to the Lambeth Library, were several Pieces of Mr. Chillingworth, not, as yet, printed. I have mentioned some of them already (1); and shall give here an Account of them all, from the Catalogue of those Manuscripts, drawn up by Mr. Wharton himself.

(1) See
above p.
43.

(2) *Catalogus MSS. Hen. Wharton, in Bibl. Lambeth. ad Vol. M.*

He observes (2) that the Volume mark'd *M*, is *Volumen Chartaceum in fol.*, containing, *A Collection of Papers, formerly belonging to Archbishop Laud, many of them wrot with his own hand, but most of them endorsed with his hand; together with some Papers*

of

While our Author was thus asserting the King's Cause, he receiv'd a Letter from one of his friends, who being acquainted with

of the Archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft, and many of Mr. Chillingworth: and after having set down part of the contents of that Volume, he adds: „ Several Papers of Mr. William Chillingworth, viz.

„ Mr. Peakes five Questions proposed to Mr. Chillingworth, about the nature of Faith, and the resolution and consequences of the Faith of Protestants.

„ Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to Mr. Peakes Questions: first Draught imperfect.

„ Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to the same: being compleat and perfect.

„ The beginning of a Treatise against the Scots; by Mr. Chillingworth.

„ Passages extracted out of the Declarations of the Scots; by Mr. Chillingworth.

„ Observations upon the Scottish Declaration; by Mr. Chillingworth.

„ A Treatise of the Unlawfulness of resisting the lawfull Prince, although most impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous; by Mr. Chillingworth.

„ A Letter of Mr. Chillingworth excusing his writing against the Rebels (3).

„ Notes of Mr. Chillingworth, concerning God's universal Mercy in calling Men to Repentance.

„ (4) A problematical Tentamen of Mr. Chillingworth against punishing Crimes with Death in Christian Societies: Cancelled.

„ A Letter of Mr. J. to Mr. Chillingworth, of the imperfection of naturall Religion and Reason, without the assistance of Revelation: wrot 1637.

„ A short

(3) That Letter is inserted in the Text, p. 300.

(4) This paragraph is razed out in the Catalogue.

(i) For
this Letter
I am in-
debted to
the Lord

Bishop of
Peterbo-
rough,
who pre-
fix'd be-
fore his

Transcript
of it the
following
words:

Orig. in
Colleston.

MSS. fol.
vol. 1. p.

925. penes
D. Tho.

Archp.

Canuar.

See Rem.
(VV).

(k) The
Duke of
Bucking-
ham.

(5) See
Rem.(X).

(6) This
Paragraph
is razed
out in the
Catalogue.

(7) That
Letter
hath been
inserted
above, p.
86, & seq.

with his design, endeavoured to dissuade him
from pursuing it: but he return'd the fol-
lowing Answer (i).

„ Sir, Consider the bloody effects of
„ railing tongues in the murder of the D. of
„ B. (k); and tell me whether there be not
„ cause to fear, that if blasphemous mouths
„ be not stopped, violent hands will not be
„ restrained from bringing forth of such tra-
„ gical examples.

„ But though this were just and fit and
„ necessary to be done, why should I be so
„ pragmaticall? why should I doe more than
„ any

„ *A short Discourse of the nature of Faith*, by Mr.
„ Chillingworth.

„ *A larger Discourse of the nature of Faith*, by Mr.
„ Chillingworth.

„ *Of the absurdity of departing from the Church of*
„ *England, for want of Succession of visible Professors*
„ *in all Ages*; by Mr. Chillingworth.

„ *A brieft Answer to several Texts of Scripture,*
„ *alleged to prove the Church to be one, visible, univer-*
„ *versal, perpetual, and infallible*; by Mr. Chilling-
„ worth.

„ *A Letter of Dr. Sheldon to Mr. Chillingworth, to*
„ *satisfy his Scruples about subscribing (5).*

„ *Letter of Mr. Chillingworth to Dr. Sheldon, con-*
„ *taining some Scruples about leaving the Church of*
„ *Rome and returning to the Church of England.*

„ (6) *Letter of Mr. Chillingworth to Dr. Sheldon,*
„ *containing his Scruples about Subscription, and the*
„ *reason of them (7).*

„ any man? Which speech is not much un-
 „ like a speech of a Cardinal in Luther's time;
 „ that it was fit and necessary the Church
 „ should be reformed; but what had Luther
 „ a poultry Friar to do with it? better quite
 „ undone than he should do it. But I think
 „ rather better any man do it, then it should
 „ be left undone. All are equally bound
 „ to discharge their duty to God. All have
 „ equally a part in their Princes and Coun-
 „ try's welfare. And if I have been stout
 „ and couragious, when others have been
 „ cold and cowardly; I think their faintness
 „ should rather commend then condemn my
 „ forwardness; *Quod ausus sim bonus esse in*
 „ *malis temporibus.*

„ And thus, good Sir, have I told what I
 „ have done, and why. I would now tell
 „ you what I have suffer'd in it (*WW*), and
 „ likewise

(*WW*) *What I have suffered in it*]. Mr. Chilling-
 worth was very zealous for the King's Cause; and
 used such endeavours to promote it on all occasions,
 as have been made a matter of reproach to him by his
 Adversaries. „ I admire, says Mr. Cheynell (1), at the
 „ impudence of divers men [*that is, several eminent*
 „ *Divines of the Church of England, he had cited,*] who
 „ have thus freely expressed themselves for the encou-
 „ ragement of the *Arminian, Socinian, and Popish* par-
 „ ty, and yet are not ashamed to say that they stand for
 „ the *Protestant religion*. I have seen a letter under
 „ Mr. Chillingworth's own hand in which he doth excite

(1) *The*
Rise,
Growth
and Dan-
ger of Soci-
nianisme,
&c. print-
ed in
1643, p.
76. See
Rem.

„ likewise say something to the other part
 „ of your Letter ; but being to preach at
 „ St. Maryes shortly, and lately chosen Phi-
 „ losopher

(2) Ubi „ Dr. Sheldon of All-soules, and Dean Potter, &c. to
 supr. c. „ stand in defiance of the Parliament, and advises them
 23. „ to stir up the youth (the young laddes of the University
 (3) An „ as he calls them) to oppose the Parliament ; Now
 Attempt „ can I or any man beleieve that Mr. Chillingworth doth
 towards re- „ intend to maintaine Calvinisme, I mean pure Prote-
 covering an „ stant Religion ?
 Account of „
 the num- „ But what our Author had then suffer'd for his Loyalty,
 bers and „ sufferings of I could not discover. Only, Mr. Wood says in ge-
 the Clergy „ neral, „ (2) that in the beginning of the civil distem-
 of the „ pers, Mr. Chillingworth suffer'd much in the Kings
 Church of „ Cause, and being forced to go from place to place
 England, „ for succour, as opportunity served, went at length
 &c. Part. „ to Arundel-Castle in Suffex &c.“ Indeed Dr. Walker
 II. p. 63. „ tells us, that he finds him some time in Durance in the
 (4) An „ Collection of Tower, for Words against the Parliament (3). But he
 impartial „ gives no voucher for it ; and to do him justice, I think
 the great Af- „ we ought to look upon this passage, as one of those
 fairs of „ many stories, that have been communicated to him,
 State, &c. „ which he receiv'd and publish'd without a due examina-
 Vol. II. p. „ tion. And the occasion of his correspondent's mistake,
 714. ad „ I take to be this. He had read somewhere, or heard
 an. 1641. „ some body say, that in the year 1641, M. Chilling-
 See also „ worth was sent Prisoner to the Tower ; and he applied
 pag. 763. „ it to our Author, whereas it related to a Member of
 (5) He „ Parliament of that name. In the Commons House, says
 was sent „ Dr. Nalson (4), Mr. Chillingworth a Member was sent
 to the „ to the Tower (5), for speaking some words which gave
 Tower „ offence to the House, by declaring his judgment, in offer-
 Dec. 1. „ ing at his instances concerning deposing of Princes. „ It
 1641, and „ was
 releas'd
 Dec. 20.
 See Nal-
 son, ibid.

„ philosopher Reader in our Colledge, I am
 „ even oppressed with multitude of business,
 „ and therefore for this time I leave you,
 „ and rest your truly honest friend, &c.

Mr.

„ was too early day yet, *pursues Dr. Nalson*, to broach
 „ these Doctrines, and the Gentleman was to be made
 „ an Example for this rash Intemperance of his Tongue;
 „ and certainly the Faction could not, if it had been a
 „ forelaid occasion, have done themselves a more Ser-
 „ viceable and Popular Kindness; for this was to let
 „ the whole Nation know, that they had such tender-
 „ ness of Loyalty and Duty for the King, that their
 „ chaste Ears could not indure the ingrateful sound of
 „ Deposing Kings, though in Instances of the remotest
 „ distance; and then the natural Consequence of this
 „ must be, That they who had such aversions and ab-
 „ horrency to Treasonous Positions, and Presidents at
 „ such a distance, could have no evil Intentions against
 „ their King, though they asked of him to divest him-
 „ self of the Power of the Sword, and other Royal
 „ Prerogatives, and in effect all that made him an
 „ Actual, or more then a Titular King.

From the proceedings of the Commons against Mr. Chillingworth, one of their Members, Dr. Nalson takes occasion to represent them as a *Faction*, which made a shew of having an *aversion* and *abhorrence to treasonous positions*, but in reality had *evil intentions against the King*, and black designs in view; whereas that very passage imports the contrary. The truth is, the Commons, as well as the Lords, conceiv'd that their Laws and Liberties were invaded; and that apprehension, whether just or ill-grounded, was certainly prevalent in the nation: but these same men were other-
 wise

THE LIFE OF

Mr. Chillingworth's zeal for the Church of England was equal to his loyalty to the King. He wrote a small Tract to shew that
Episco-

(6) Clarendon,
The History of the Rebellion, &c.
 Book III.
 Vol. I. p.
 184, in 8^o.

wife well affected to the King, as limited by Law. *In the House of Commons*, says a noble Historian (6), *were many persons of Wisdom and Gravity, who being possess'd of great and plentiful Fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the Court, had all imaginable duty for the King, and affection to the Government establish'd by Law or ancient Custom; and without doubt, the major part of that Body consisted of men who had no mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the Government of Church or State; and therefore all Inventions were set on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them, &c.*

(7) Journals of the
 12th Day
 of May;
 1660.

As to the Parliament's taking arms against the King, it is very remarkable, that this was justified by that very House of Commons, which restored King Charles II. For „ (7) some exceptions being „ taken to some words spoke by Mr. Lenthall a „ Member of the House, in the Debate of the „ Bill of general Pardon, to the effect following, „ viz. *He that drew his Sword first against the King, committed as high an offence as he that cut off the King's head*; Mr. Lenthall standing up in his place „ explained himself and withdrew. But it was resolv- „ ed that he should be call'd to the Barr: and the „ Serjeant with the Mace went to Mr. Lenthall, who „ was withdrawn into the Speaker's Chamber, and „ brought him to the Barr; where kneeling, Mr. Speaker bid him rise, and after, according to the order „ of the House, gave him a sharp reprehension to the „ effect following:

The

Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles. The occasion was this. Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, having compos'd
à Trea-

The House hath taken very great offence at some words you have let fall, upon debate of this business of the Bill of Indemnity; which, in the judgment of this House, hath, as high a reflection on the Justice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons in the last Parliament, in their actings before the year 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poyson in the words, and that they were spoken out of design to set this House on fire; they tending to render them that drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to condigne Punishment, and to vindicate their just Liberties, into ballance with them that cutt off the King's Head: of which act they express their abhorrence and detestation; appealing to God, and their Conscience bearing them witness; that they had no thoughts against his Person, much less against his Life. Therefore, I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out, at any other time but in this Parliament; or at any time in this present Parliament, but when they had considerations of Mercy, Pardon, and Indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer Sentence, than I am now to pronounce. But the disposition of his Majesty is to Mercy: he hath invited his People to accept of it, and it is the disposition of the body of this House to be healers of the breaches, and to hold forth mercy to men of all conditions, so far as may stand with Justice, and the Justification of themselves before God and Man. I am therefore commanded to let you know, that that being their disposition, and the present subject of this dayes debate being Mercy, you shall

X

there-

THE LIFE OF

a Treatise, intituled, *The judgment of Protestant Divines, of remote Churches, as well such, as were the first Reformers of Religion,*
as

therefore taste of Mercy. Yet I am to give you a sharp Reprehension, and I doe as sharply and severely, as I can, (for soe I am commanded) reprehend you for it.

(8) *The History of England, &c. pag. 765, of the 2^d Edit.*

Mr. Echard hath brought this passage into his *History of England*, and he introduces it thus: „ In preparing, says he (8), the General Act of Pardon, the Commons „ proceeded with all Tenderneſs and Caution, eſpecially with Relation to the late Civil War; in which „ they were very unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in it. This particularly appear'd in „ the Treatment they gave to Mr. *Lenthall*, a Member „ of the Houſe, who, in the Debate of the Bill, took „ the Freedom to ſay, *He that firſt drew his Sword* „ *againſt the late King, committed as great an Offence,* „ *as he that cut off his Head.* Upon which, being „ ſeiz'd by the Serjeant, he was brought to the Bar, „ where the Speaker, by Order of the Houſe, gave „ him the following Reprimand, &c.

Mr. Echard would make us believe, that the Commons *proceeded with all Tenderneſs and Caution* with reſpect to the late *Civil War*, and therefore were *unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in it*: but this is a groſs miſrepresentation of their Proceedings. For they did not proceed *with Tenderneſs and Caution* in that reſpect; but expreſs'd their ſenſe of it, with great warmth and freedom. And far from being only *unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in the Civil War*, that they fully juſtified it; declaring, that thoſe who *drew the Sword*, did it *to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and to vindicate their juſt Liberties;*
and

as others, after them, in behalfe of Episcopall degree in the Church: his Manuscript was sent to Archbishop Usher, who was then at Oxford; and he published it without the Author's name to it, and knowledge of it (1), under the title of *Confessions and Prooves of Protestant Divines of Reformed Churches, that Episcopacy is in respect of the Office according to the word of God, and in respect of the Use the Best.* The learned Primate added to it a *brief Treatise* of his own, with his name prefix'd before it, *touching the Originall of Bishops and Metropolitans.* And in order to compleat that Collection, Mr. Chillingworth furnish'd him with the aforesaid Tract, which being subjoin'd to the other two, as a Conclusion, was intitled, *The Apostolicall Institution of Episcopacy; deduced out of the premises by W. C.* This little Piece hath been reprinted several times: and I don't find any thing was publish'd against it till of late (XX).

(1) *The Life of Thomas, Lord Bishop of Duresme; by Dr. John Barwick; p.*

137.

X 2

But

and that Mr. Lenthall's words were a high reflection on the Justice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons in their actings before 1648.

(XX) This little Piece hath been reprinted several times, and I don't find any thing publish'd against it till of late]. The first edition of that Tract hath been already mention'd. It was also printed by it self, in 1644, at Oxford, with this title: *The Apostolicall Institution of Episcopacy* (1), without the name of the Author. And thus 4°. pagg. 6.

(1) Printed by H.

Hall; in

THE LIFE OF

But whether it may be easily confuted, the Reader will judge by the ensuing passages.

„ If

thus leaving out these words of the title of the first edition, *deduced out of the premises*, it is represented as a Piece compleat and design'd to go alone ; whereas it depended upon the preceding Treatises, and was drawn up as a Corollary or Conclusion, *deduced out of them*.

It was again printed in 1660, with a *Speech of My Lord Falkland concerning Episcopacy*. The title of that Pamphlet is: *Two Discourses concerning Episcopacy; the former made by the Right honorable the Lord Viscount Falkland: and the later by his Friend, Mr. William Chillingworth. Published according to the Original Copies* (2).

(2) In 4^o.
pagg. 14.

And here our Author's Tract is intitled: *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, demonstrated by Mr. William Chillingworth*: which word *demonstrated*, was, no doubt, put in by the editor, (who made likewise some alterations in a marginal Note, referring to the Treatises above mention'd) and misrepresents the particular intent and design of that Piece (3). This last edition, divided into paragraphs, hath been inserted in the subsequent editions of the Works of Mr. Chillingworth (4).

(3) Mr. Lauder, *ubi infra*, animadvertens upon that expression, p. 5.
(4) See Rem. (II) n. 3.

That small Tract remain'd unanswer'd for above threescore years. But in 1707 a Book came out against it in Scotland, intitled: *The Ancient Bishops consider'd; both with respect to the extent of their Jurisdiction and nature of their Power. In Answer to Mr. Chillingworth and others. Wherein the Conformity of the Government and Discipline of the Church of Scotland, with that of the Ancient Church, is fully manifested: And it is made evident, that the Ministers of the Gospel, or Pastors of the Parishes,*

„ If we abstract from Episcopall govern-
 „ ment, *says Mr. Chillingworth* (m), all
 „ accidentals, and consider onely what is es-
 X 3 sentiall

Parishes, are not Presbyters but Bishops; and that the Government of the Church by Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, and Commissions of General Assemblies, is not Presbyterian but Episcopal Government. By Alexander Lauder, Minister of the Gospel at Morden-toun (5).

(m) Confessions and
 Profeses of
 Protestant
 Divines of
 Reformed
 Churches
 &c: Ox-
 ford 1644,
 in 4^o. pag.
 79, 80.

Mr. Lauder begins his Preface with giving the reasons that engaged him to write on that subject. „ To offer
 „ at this time a Day, *says he*, to answer Mr. Chilling-
 „ worth's *Demonstration of Episcopacy*, or, Archbishop
 „ Usher's *Original of Bishops and Metropolitans*, old
 „ Writings, and which, may be suppos'd to be long
 „ ago buried in oblivion; may perhaps be thought an
 „ odd and improper Undertaking, and be imputed to
 „ a contentious Humour, or an unreasonable Desire
 „ to revive ancient Debates, and perpetuate Heats and
 „ Animosities in the Church.

„ But considering these Writings were not long since
 „ reprinted at *Edinburgh*, with a Design, no doubt, to
 „ make us believe, That the *Government* which is *now*
 „ call'd *Episcopal*, is the same with that which was
 „ instituted by the Apostles, and was the Government
 „ of the ancient Church in the purest Ages; and seeing
 „ the Party, as may be easily judg'd, will readily cry
 „ them up as Unanswerable, and pretend they prove
 „ to a Demonstration, That our present Happy Estab-
 „ lishment is not capable of a rational Defence; I
 „ thought I would not be condemn'd by equitable Per-
 „ sons, if I should undertake to discover the Vanity
 „ of such a Pretence, or make it appear, That that *Epif-*

copacy

(5) Printed
 at Edin-
 burgh; in
 8^o.

„ sentiall and necessary to it; we shall finde
 „ in it no more but this. An appointment
 „ of one man of eminent sanctity and suf-
 „ ficiency to have the care of all the Church-
 „ es, within a certaine Precinct or Dioceſſe;
 „ and furniſhing him with authority, not
 „ absolute or arbitrary, but regulated and
 „ bounded by lawes, and moderated by joyn-
 „ ing to him a convenient number of aſſiſt-
 „ ants. To the intent that all the Churches
 „ under him may be provided of good and
 „ able

„ copacy which was of late ſo juſtly thrown out of
 „ this Church (and which, we have good Ground to
 „ hope, ſhall never infeſt it again any more, the Go-
 „ vernment thereof as it is now Eſtabliſhed, being
 „ made a *Fundamental* Article of the Union betwixt
 „ the two Kingdoms, and declared *Unalterable* by the
 „ Parliament of *Great Britain* in all time coming) is
 „ not at all proven by theſe or the like Writings, to
 „ be either *Apoſtolical* or *Ancient*: And conſequently,
 „ that they who build their Practice on ſuch weak and
 „ unſound Foundations, have need to conſider, how
 „ they will be able to answer before God, for their
 „ rending his Church, by making a Schiſm therein, and
 „ keeping up a ſcandalous and unaccountable Division
 „ amongſt us.

Besides Mr. Chillingworth and Archbishop Uſher,
 Mr. Lauder attacks Mr. Sage's *Vindication of the Prin-
 ciples of the Cyprianick Age*, in ſeveral places; but par-
 ticularly in a Treatiſe, (which takes up above half of
 his Book) wherein he undertakes to prove, That the
*Biſhops in Cyprian's time had neither absolute Power,
 nor a negative Voice in their Churches.*

able Pastours: and that both of Pastours
and people conformity to the lawes and
performance of their duties may be requir-
ed, under penalties, not left to discretion,
but by law appointed.

To this kinde of government, *pursues*
he, I am not by any particular interest so
devoted, as to thinke it ought to be main-
tained, either in opposition to Apostolick
instituition, or to the much desired refor-
mation of mens lives, and restoration of
Primitive discipline, or to any law or
precept of our Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ: for that were to maintaine a
meanes contrary to the end. for obe-
dience to our Saviour is the end for which
Church Government is appointed. But if
it may be demonstrated, or made much
more probable then the contrary, as I
verily thinke it may: I. That it is not
repugnant to the government setled in
and for the Church by the Apostles:
II. That it is as complayable with the Re-
formation of any evil, which we desire to
reforme either in Church or State, or
the introduction of any good which we
desire to introduce, as any other kind of
government: And III. That there is no
law, no record of our Saviour against it:
then I hope it will not be thought an
unreasonable motion, if we humbly de-
sire those that are in authority, especially

„ the High Court of Parliament, that it may
 „ not be sacrificed to clamour, or over-
 „ borne by violence: and though (which
 „ God forbid) the greater part of the mul-
 „ titude should cry, *Crucifixe, Crucifixe*, yet
 „ our Governours would be so full of Justice
 „ and courage, as not to give it up untill
 „ they perfectly understand concerning Epis-
 „ copacy it selfe, *Quid mali fecit*. I shall
 „ speake at this time onely of the first of
 „ these three points: That Episcopacy is
 „ not repugnant to the government settled
 „ in the Church for perpetuity by the Apo-
 „ stles. Whereof I conceive this which fol-
 „ lowes as cleare a demonstration, as any
 „ thing of this nature is capable of, &c.

(n) *Ibid.*
 pag. 83,

What he says afterwards upon that point,
 he resumes thus in the conclusion: „ (n) Epis-
 „ copall government is acknowledged to
 „ have beene uniyersally received in the
 „ Church, presently after the Apostles times.
 „ Betweene the Apostles times and this pre-
 „ sently after, there was not time enough
 „ for, nor possibility of so great an altera-
 „ tion. And therefore there was no such
 „ alteration as is pretended. And therefore
 „ Episcopacy, being confessed to be so an-
 „ cient and Catholique; must be granted
 „ also to be Apostolique. *Quod erat de-
 „ monstrandum*“.

The War still continued with great vigour
 on each side. The King having appointed
 the

the Lord Hopton General of his Troops in the West, he forced Arundel-Castle in Sussex to surrender (o). But Sir William Waller, who commanded the Parliament's forces in those parts, resolv'd to recover that place: and „ he march'd (p) with all his Army to „ *Arundel-Castle*, where he found that Gar- „ rison as unprovided as he could wish. „ For instead of encreasing the Magazine „ of Victual by Supplies from the Country, „ they had spent much of that Store which „ the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Go- „ vernor (q) was a Man of Honesty and Cou- „ rage, but unacquainted with that Affair, „ having no other experience in War, than „ what he had learn'd since these Troubles. „ The Officers were many without Com- „ mand, amongst whom one Colonel *Bam- „ ford*, an *Irish*-man, though he called him- „ self *Bamfield* was one; who, being a „ Man of wit and parts, applied all his fa- „ culties to improve the Faction, to which „ they were all naturally inclined, with a „ hope to make himself Governour. In „ this distraction *Waller* found them, and „ by some of the Soldiers running out to „ him, he found means again to send in „ to them; by which he so encreased their „ Faction, and Animosity against one ano- „ ther, that after he had kept them waking, „ with continual Alarms, three or four days, „ near half the Men being sick, and unable „ to

(o) On the
9th of De-
cember.

(p) *Clarendon*,
Book VIII.
Tom. IV.
p. m. 472,
473.

(q) Sir
Edward
Ford, High
Sheriff of
the Coun-
ty.

(r) On the
6th of Ja-
nuary.

(s) Ubi
supr. P.
473.

„ to do duty, rather than they would trust
„ each other longer, they gave the Place
„ and Themselves up as Prisoners of War
„ upon Quarter (r); the Place being able
„ to have defended it self against all that
„ power, for a much longer time.“ *Here*
the Learned and Eminent Mr. Chillingworth,
pursues my Lord Clarendon (s), *was taken*
Prisoner; who out of kindness and respect
to the Lord Hopton, had accompanied him
in that March; and being indisposed by the
terrible coldness of the Season, chose to re-
pose himself in that Garrison, till the Wea-
ther should mend.

(t) The
Lord Bi-
shop of
Bangor in
his Letter
to Dr.
Snape;
printed
before Mr.
de la Pil-
loniere's
Reply to
Dr. Snape's
Imdication
of a pas-
sage, &c.
p. xlv.

Mr. Chillingworth's illness increas'd to
such a degree, that being not able to go to
London with the Garrison, he was convey'd
to Chichester: which favour he obtain'd at
the request of his great Adversary Mr. Chey-
nell above mention'd, who accidentally met
him in Arundel-Castle, and frequently vi-
sited him at Chichester till he dyed. But
Mr. Cheynell hath given us an Account of
Mr. Chillingworth's sickness, and of his own
behaviour toward him; wherein he shew'd
himself as charitable and compassionate, as
his rigid Orthodoxy would permit him to
be. For, „ Mr. Cheynell, *as a celebrated*
Author observes (t), was a Rigid Zelous
Presbyterian; exactly Orthodox; very un-
willing that Any should be suppos'd to go
to Heaven, but in the Right Way. And
„ this

„ this was that *One* way, in which He him-
 „ self was settled; and in which He seems
 „ to be as sincere, and honest, and chari-
 „ table, as his *Bigottry*, and his Cramp'd
 „ Notions of God's *Peculium*, would permit
 „ Him to be.“ Besides his Orthodoxy, Mr.
 Cheynell, as hath been observed already (u), (u) See a-
 was intirely devoted to the Parliament, and bove, p.
 very active in promoting their cause. And 274, 275.
 no doubt, but it was out of a desire to shew
 his zeal in all these respects, that he publish'd
 his Account of Mr. Chillingworth, which is
 a most ludicrous as well as melancholy in-
 stance of Fanaticism or religious madness.
 But as we cannot reasonably suspect the truth
 of the most material passages it contains; I
 shall transcribe here what relates to Mr. Chil-
 lingworth, without any apprehension of ti-
 ring the Reader.

„ Mr. Cheynell was pleas'd to entitle his
 Pamphlet: „ *Chillingworthi Novissima*: or,
 „ the *Sicknesse, Heresy, Death, and Buriall*
 „ of *William Chillingworth*, (In his own
 „ phrase) *Clerk of Oxford*, and in the con-
 „ ceit of his fellow Souldiers, the *Queens*
 „ *Arch-Engineer*, and *Grand-Intelligencer*.
 „ Set forth in a *Letter* to his Eminent and
 „ learned Friends, a *Relation* of his Ap-
 „ prehension at *Arundell*, a *Discovery* of
 „ his Errours in a *Briefe Catechisme*, and
 „ a short *Oration* at the Buriall of his He-
 „ reticall Book. By *Francis Cheynell*, late
 „ Fellow

(x) Printed at London, 1644, in 4^o.

„ Fellow of *Merton Colledge*. Published by
 „ Authority (x).“
 „ He prefix'd to it an Epistle or Dedication
 „ To the learned and eminent Friends of
 „ Mr. Chillingworth, and in particular to
 „ Sir *John Culpepper*, Knight; Dr. *John*
 „ *Prideaux*, Bishop of Worcester; *Fell*,
 „ Deane of Christ-Church; *Bayly*, Dean of
 „ Sarum; *Shelden*, Warden of All-soules;
 „ *Potter*, Provost of Queenes; and *Morley*,
 „ Canon of Christ Church (YY).“

Then

(YY) *A Dedication to the learned and eminent Friends of Mr. Chillingworth*]. I shall set down here two or three Paragraphs of the beginning:

„ SIRS, *says he*, your deceased friend is not yet
 „ speechlesse, he calls upon you to beware and repent;
 „ some preach more, at least more practically, when
 „ they are dead, then ever they did whilst they were
 „ alive. You that were his *Patrons* and *Encouragers*, as
 „ hee acknowledged ever, when he was in the height
 „ of his Rebellion, doe you *beware lest a worse thing*
 „ *come unto you*. You that were the *Licensers* of
 „ his subtile Atheisme, Repent, Repent; for he was so
 „ hardened by your flattery, that (for ought the most
 „ charitable man can judge) hee perished by your Ap-
 „ probation: he ever appealed to his works even to his
 „ very dying day, and what was it, which made him
 „ dote upon them, but your Licence and Approbation?
 „ Heark what hee saith, *The third and last part of my*
 „ *Accusation was, That I answer out of principles, which*
 „ *Protestants themselves will professe to detest: which in-*
 „ *deed were to the purpose, if it could be justified. But,*
 „ *beside;*

Dr. Bayly,
 Dr. Pri-
 deaux,
 Dr. Fell.

Then comes the *Relation* it self, with a new title, no less curious than the first:
 „ A brieve and plaine *Relation* of Mr. Chillingworths

„ besides that, it is confuted by my whole Book, and made
 „ ridiculous by the Approbation premised unto it, &c. read
 „ Mr. Chillingworth his Preface to the Author of Charity, &c. Sect. 30. Sure I am, that the Accusation
 „ may bee justified, and therefore is to the purpose; but
 „ the Approbation cannot bee justified, and is therefore
 „ justly Reprobated: The Accusation is so serious, that
 „ the Approbation cannot make it (but may well make
 „ the Approvers and their Church) ridiculous. O what
 „ a ridiculous Church doe the Licensers make the
 „ Church of *England* to be, by saying that there is nothing
 „ in Mr. Chillingworth his Book contrary to the
 „ doctrine of the Church of *England*; sure they meant
 „ the Church of *Canterbury*. But Dr. Fell, and Dr.
 „ Bayly are not ashamed to say, that there is nothing
 „ in that Book contrary to good manners, which Dr.
 „ Prideaux would not say; but enough of that.

„ Sirs, the following History will testifie my compassion
 „ towards your deceased friend, whom I ever
 „ opposed in a charitable and friendly way. I doe not
 „ account it any glory to trample upon the carcasse
 „ of *Hector*, or to pluck a dead Lion by the beard;
 „ should I misquote his Book, and make that errour mine
 „ owne by a false citation, which I pretend to be his in
 „ an Accusation, you that were the unhappy Licencers
 „ of his Book would soone take me tripping. If you
 „ conceive that he deserved a more Honourable buriall,
 „ bee pleased to answer my Reasons, and patronize his
 „ errours with all the learning *Bodleyes Library* can afford:
 „ or else study his *Catechisme*, pardon my boldnesse,

Νεκρὸν
 σῶμα λέον-
 τος ἐφύβρι-
 ζεσσι λα-
 γωσί.

THE LIFE OF

„ *lingworth's* Sicknesse, Death, and Buriall:
 „ together with a just Censure of his *Work*,
 „ by a Discovery of his Errours collected out
 „ of

„ some Courtiers never learnt, and some Doctours have
 „ forgot their Catechisme, or else this man we speak
 „ of had never beene so much admired, his Book extol-
 „ led, or these Antichristian warres fomented by such
 „ great Clerks and busie wits.

„ I looked upon Mr. *Chillingworth* as one who had
 „ his head as full of Scruples as it was of Engines; and
 „ therefore dealt as tenderly with him as I use to doe
 „ with men of the most nice and tender consciences:
 „ for I considered, that though Beefe must bee preserved
 „ with salt, yet Plums must be preserved with sugar.
 „ I can assure you I stooped as low to him as I could
 „ without falling, and you know he is not a wise man
 „ in the judgement of the Philosopher, who stoops so
 „ low to another mans weaknesse, that he himselfe falls
 „ into weaknesse: and it is a Rule with us at *West-*
 „ *minster*, that *he falls into weaknesse who falls into*
 „ *sinne*.

„ Doe not conceive that I snatcht up my pen in an
 „ angry mood, that I might vent my dangerous wit, and
 „ ease my overburthened spleene. No, no, I have al-
 „ most forgot the *Visitation at Merton Colledge, the De-*
 „ *niall of my Grace, the plundering of my house and little*
 „ *Library*: I know when and where and of whom to
 „ demand satisfaction for all these injuries and indigni-
 „ ties. I have learnt *Centum plagas Spartanâ Nobilitatē*
 „ *concoquere*. I have not yet learnt how to plunder
 „ others of goods or living, and make my selfe amends
 „ by force of armes. I will not take a living which
 „ belonged to any civill, studious, learned Delinquent,
 „ unlessse

his Book, and framed into a kinde of *A-*
theisticall Catechisme, fit for *Racovia* or
Cracovia: and may well serve for the in-

struction

unlesse it be the much neglected *Commendam* of some
 Lordly Prelate condemned by the knowne Lawes of
 the Land, and the highest Court of the Kingdome
 for some offence of the first magnitude: I can, with-
 out straining my conscience, swallow such a gnat, a
 camel I should say, for every one of their *Commen-*
dams hath a bunch upon its back, and may well make
 a bunch upon their conscience. I shall not trouble
 you with any long discourse about State matters, on-
 ly you will give me leave to say what the *Lacedemo-*
nian slave said, when he stood to be sold in the market;
 and one asked him what he was? *I am* (saith he)
 a *Free man*, and so am *I*, for though *I* have not taken
Antidotum contra Casarem, yet I have taken *Antido-*
tum contra Tyrannidem. I could never yet stoop so
 low to the most tyrannical Prelate as to cry *Your hum-*
ble Slave.

ἐλεύθερος
εἶμι.

And after some pages in the same strain, he concludes
 thus:

I will not, says he, hold you any longer upon the
 racke: Learne the first lesson of Christianity, *Self-*
deniall; deny your owne will, and submit your selves
 to Gods; deny your reason, and submit to faith: Reason
 tells you that there are some things above reason, and
 you cannot be so unreasonable as to make reason judge
 of those things which are above reason: Remember
 that Master *Chillingworth* (your friend) did runne
 mad with reason, and so lost his reason and religion
 both at once: hee thought he might trust his reason in
 the highest points; his reason was to be Iudge, whe-

ther

THE LIFE OF

„ struction of the *Irish, Welch, Dutch,*
 „ *French, Spanish Army in England,* and
 „ especially for the *Black Regiment at Ox-*
 „ *ford.*“

He begins with his apology, for writing
 against a person that was dead. „ I am ve-
 „ ry religious, *says he* (y), in observing
 „ that old proverbe, if it be taken in its
 „ right sence, *Nothing is to be spoken of the*
 „ *dead but good.* It is no glory to
 „ triumph over one that is conquered, nay
 „ dead; for that of the Poet is true,

*Nullum cum victis certamen * & aethere cassis.*

„ But I consider, that Mr. *Chillingworths*
 „ party is alive, though he be dead; and
 „ though one of his Books is buried, there
 „ are many hundred Copies divulged; and
 „ therefore though I speak not of his humane
 „ frailties, or personall infirmities, and im-
 „ perfections, which died with him; yet I
 „ may speak of his Hereticall Book, and of
 „ some

(y) *Chillingworthi*
Novissima,
 &c. p. 12,
 13. The
 pages are
 not num-
 bered, but
 I shall cite
 them as I
 have num-
 ber'd them
 in my Co-
 py, begin-
 ning pag.
 1. with the
 title-page
 of the
 Book.
 * *Scilicet*
esse oportet.

„ ther or no there be a God? Whether that God wrote
 „ any Booke? Whether the bookes usually received as
 „ Canonically be the bookes, the Scriptures of God?
 „ What is the sence of those books? What Religion is
 „ best? What Church purest? Come; doe not wrangle;
 „ but beleieve, and obey your God, and then I shall be
 „ encouraged to subscribe my selfe Your Friend and
 „ Servant, &c;

„ some destructive policies he used, which
 „ doe yet survive in their sad and lamenta-
 „ ble effects. Iudge what I say, put the case
 „ a man commits notorious crimes scanda-
 „ lously, because publicquely, and doth not
 „ only hold, but vent damnable heresies;
 „ and vent them not only in the Pulpit, but
 „ in the Presse; shall not his damnable he-
 „ resies and printed heresies be confuted after
 „ his death? shall thousands be seduced and
 „ perish, and all Orthodox Divines silenced
 „ with that one Proverb, *Nothing is to be*
 „ *spoken of the dead but good*? Nay, put
 „ the case further yet, suppose a man hath
 „ had his head full of powder-plots, and
 „ his heart full of bloody desires, nay hath
 „ been a Ring-leader and Encourager of o-
 „ thers to bloody practises against the very
 „ light of nature as well as Scripture; must
 „ nothing be said of such a man when he is
 „ gone, but good?

Having thus justified his undertaking, he
 relates by what accident he happen'd to meet
 with Mr. Chillingworth.

„ Mr. *Chillingworth* and I, *says he* (2), (2) Pag.
 „ met in *Sussex* by an unexpected provi- 13, 14, 15
 „ dence: I was driven from my owne house
 „ by force of Armes, only (as the Cavaliers
 „ confessed) because I was nominated to be
 „ a Member of the Assembly: and when I
 „ heard that my Living was bestowed upon
 „ Y a Doctor

THE LIFE OF

„ a Doctor (who if some *Cambridge-men*
 „ deceive me not, became the *stage* farre
 „ better then he doth the *Pulpit*) I resolved
 „ to exercise my Ministry in *Suffex* amongst
 „ my friends, in a place where there hath
 „ been little of the power of Religion either
 „ known or practised. About the latter end
 „ of *November* I travelled from *London* to
 „ *Chichester*, according to my usuall cu-
 „ stome, to observe the monthly Fast; and
 „ in my passage, with a thankfull heart I
 „ shall ever acknowledge it, I was guard-
 „ ed by a Convoy of 16 Souldiers, who
 „ faced about 200 of the enemies forces,
 „ and put them all to flight. . . . there
 „ were (you see) some difficulties in my
 „ way, which seemed insuperable, and yet
 „ the Lord of Hosts did bring me thorow
 „ these difficulties safe from *Bramber* to *A-*
 „ *rundell*, upon the 21 day of *December*,
 „ if I forget not. Master *Chillingworth* was
 „ at that time in *Arundell* Castle, which
 „ was surrendred to the much renowned
 „ Commander Sir *William Waller*, Serjeant-
 „ Major-generall of all the associated Coun-
 „ ties in the *East and West*, upon the sixt
 „ of *Ianuary*. As soone as the Castle was
 „ surrendred, I represented Master *Chilling-*
 „ *worths* condition to Sir *William Waller*,
 „ who commended him to the care of his
 „ worthy Chaplaine; and his Chaplaine shew-
 „ ed

„ ed so much charity and respect towards
 „ him, that he laid him upon his owne bed,
 „ and supplied him with all necessaries which
 „ the place did afford. When the rest of the
 „ Prisoners were sent up to *London*, Master
 „ *Chillingworth* made it evident to me, that
 „ he was not able to endure so long a jour-
 „ ney; and if he had been put to it, he had
 „ certainly died by the way: I desired there-
 „ fore that his journey might bee shortned,
 „ and upon my humble motion he was
 „ sent to *Chichester*, where I intreated
 „ the *Governour* that he might be secured
 „ by some Officer of his acquaintance,
 „ and not put into the hands of the *Mar-*
 „ *shall*; the *Governour* gave order that
 „ *Lieutenant Golledge* should take charge
 „ of him, and placed him in the Bi-
 „ shop of *Chichesters* Palace, where he
 „ had very courteous usage, and all accom-
 „ modations which were requisite for a
 „ sicke man (a).

„ And for my part, *says Mr. Cheynell* (b), ^{(a) See}
 „ I beleeve that in the course of nature hee ^{Rem.}
 „ might have recovered, had he not neglect- ^{(EEE).}
 „ ed and distrusted an able Doctor (who freely ^{(b) Pag. 174}
 „ offered himselfe) onely because hee was
 „ Physician to Sir *William Waller*; sure I am
 „ that jealousy was more deadly then his
 „ disease. Yet Master *Chillingworth* did,
 „ when it was too late, discover and con-
 „ fesse

„ fesse his errour, and we perswaded the
 „ Doctor to visit him afterwards, and he was
 „ in an hopefull way of recovery: but then
 „ his spirit was much dejected, because his
 „ friends neglected, or delayed, to send him
 „ some good newes from *Oxford*: his heart
 „ was so set upon his release, and his head
 „ was still working and projecting, how he
 „ might be exchanged, or ransomed; and
 „ therefore certainly the Newes of his friends
 „ active endeavours for his release, was the
 „ *only Cordiall* which could possibly revive
 „ his spirits; and for want of such a Cordiall
 „ his heart was even dead within him before
 „ he died. I entreated him to plucke up his
 „ spirits, and not to yeeld to his disease; but
 „ I perceived, that though Reason be *stout*
 „ when it encounters with faith, yet reason
 „ is not *so valiant* when it is to encounter
 „ with affliction: and I cannot but observe,
 „ *that many a Parliament-souldier hath been*
 „ *more chearfull in a prison, then this dis-*
 „ *coursing Engineer, and learned Captive was*
 „ *in a Palace*: Beleeve it, Reader, beleeve
 „ it, that neither gifts, nor parts, nor pro-
 „ fession, nor any thing else but *faith*, will
 „ sustaine the spirit of a man in spirituall
 „ straights and worldly encombrances, when
 „ *without there are fightings, and within*
 „ *there are fears.*

„ Another

„ Another reason (c) there was, which (as (c) p. 18.
 „ I conceive) was very destructive to this *Man* ^{19.}
 „ of Reason; he was disrelished, and (I be-
 „ lieve) abused by most of the great Officers
 „ who were taken Prisoners in *Arundell-*
 „ *castle*; they looked upon him as an intru-
 „ der into their counsell's of warre, and (as
 „ one of them whispered) the *Queens intel-*
 „ *ligencer*, who was set as a Spie over them
 „ and all their proceedings (ZZ). When
 „ Major *Molins* came to treat, hee spake very
 „ coldly for Master *Chillingworth*; and a
 „ greater

Y 3

„ (ZZ) *They look'd upon him as an intruder into their*
 „ *counsell's of warre, and one who was set as spie over them*
 „ *and their proceedings*]. In the next page (1), Mr. Chey- (1) pag. 19.
 „ nell says, that *though Master Chillingworth were the*
 „ *grand-Engineer at Gloucester and Arundel, and both pro-*
 „ *jects fail'd &c.* (2): whereby it appears that he thought (2) See
 „ Mr. Chillingworth had been sent to Arundel Castle in Rem
 „ order to be employed in the defence of that place. (AAA).
 „ But My Lord Clarendon assures us in the passage before ci-
 „ ted (3), that he came thither accidentally: that *out of* (3) See a-
 „ *kindness and respect to the Lord Hopton, he had accompa-*
 „ *nied him into Suffex, and being indisposed by the terrible*
 „ *coldness of the season, he chose to repose himself in that*
 „ *Garrison, till the weather should mend.* And therefore,
 „ the following passage of Mr. Wood may be justly cen-
 „ sured. „ In the beginning of the civil distempers, says
 „ he (4), our Author Chillingworth suffer'd much for (4) Vol. II.
 „ the King's Cause, and being forced to go from place c. 23.
 „ to place for succour, as opportunity served, went at
 „ length to *Arundel Castle in Suffex*, where he was in
 „ quality of an Engineer in that Garrison,

„ greater Commander then he, told me,
 „ that they were bound to curse *that little*
 „ *Priest* to the pit of hell, for he had been
 „ the ruine of them all: I replyed in his
 „ behalfe, that I wondered much that they
 „ should make so weake an Apology, for I
 „ could not beleeeve that Master *Chilling-*
 „ *worths* single Vote could turn their Coun-
 „ cell of warre round, and make them giddy:
 „ The ingenious Gentleman made use of the
 „ liberty of his judgement, and replyed, „ Sir,
 „ Master *Chillingworth* hath so much credit
 „ at the Court, and the Court-councell hath
 „ so much influence into our military Coun-
 „ cell, that we were even over-awed, and
 „ durst not contradict Master *Chillingworth*,
 „ for feare lest our owne resolutions might
 „ succeed ill, and then his counsell would
 „ have been esteemed the better.“ I told the
 „ Gentleman, that I thought Master *Chilling-*
 „ *worth* wanted experience for the ordering
 „ of military affaires, and therefore could
 „ not well apply the generall rules of reason
 „ aright, and bring them downe to practise
 „ in cases which were difficult, because un-
 „ usuall. The Gentleman replyed, „ Sir, Ma-
 „ ster *Chillingworth* is so confident of his
 „ great wit and parts, that hee conceives
 „ himselfe able to manage martiall affaires,
 „ in which hee hath no experience, by the
 „ strength of his owne wit and reason.“ Sir,
 „ (quoth I) you may forgive him, for though
 „ I hope

„ I hope to bee *saved by faith*, yet Master
 „ *Chillingworth* hopes that a man may be
 „ *saved by reason*, and therefore you may
 „ well give him leave to fight by reason.
 „ Sir (saith that witty Gentleman) I con-
 „ fesse it is a sad objection, which I know
 „ not how to answer; and so in stead of
 „ an answer we went to dinner. But I did
 „ examine the businesse impartially after-
 „ wards, and perceiveth that these great Com-
 „ manders have grossely abused Master *Chil-*
 „ *lingworth*, in laying all the blame upon
 „ him, as if he were guilty of losing the
 „ out-workes, the Towne, the Castle, and
 „ all; and therefore I shall doe Master *Chil-*
 „ *lingworth* so much right, as to offer some
 „ considerations, which may tend to his ex-
 „ cuse or vindication (*AAA*).

Y 4

Mr.

(*AAA*) I shall doe Mr. *Chillingworth*'s so much right,
 as to offer some considerations, which may tend to his ex-
 cuse or vindication]. The considerations which Mr. Chey-
 nell offers to excuse or vindicate Mr. Chillingworth,
 whom he represents here as acting the part of an Engi-
 neer, are these: „ For what though Master Chilling-
 „ worth, says he (1), were the grand Engineer at *Glo-*
 „ *cester* (2) and *Arundel*, and both projects failed, the
 „ fault might be in the Officers and Souldiers, and not
 „ in the Engineer: Put the case the Lord *Hopton*, Ba-
 „ ron of *Stratton*, Field-Marshal-general of the West,
 „ promise to bring three thousand men, and the Engi-
 „ neer make a line of Communication which cannot

(1) Pag.
19, 20.
(2) See
Rem.
(RR).

„ be

Mr. Cheynell having *excused* or *vindicated* Mr. Chillingworth, as he is pleased to call it, gives an account of his own behaviour towards him.

„ I took,

„ be defended with fewer then two thousand; but the
 „ field-Marshal doth in the mean time forget himselfe,
 „ and quarter his men in three or foure Maniples; but
 „ his enemy being a more *wary and prudent Commander*,
 „ keeps his men in a contracted and compact body,
 „ which is too strong for the best of his Maniples, and
 „ falls upon one of the field-Marshalls Quarters, takes
 „ and kills neare upon a thousand men, and the field-
 „ Marshall by such an unexpected blow is utterly dis-
 „ abled for the fulfilling of his promise, of sending three
 „ thousand, nay is not able to send above 1500 men;
 „ shall the Engineer or the field-Marshal be blamed in
 „ such a case?

„ Nay, what if the enemy advance before the Engi-
 „ neer hath quite finished his workes? yet if he hath
 „ made them defensible against any sudden onser, and
 „ the Souldiers, which should defend the works, quit
 „ their Trenches, and runne all away, before any one
 „ man be slaine in the Trenches, shall the Engincere be
 „ blamed in such a case, or the Souldiers, who were
 „ stricken with feare when there was no considerable
 „ cause of feare?

„ Finally, if the Lord of Hosts, who did strike a ter-
 „ rour to the very heart of the Souldiers, doe shew him-
 „ selfe a God of wisdom, and infatuate the counsels of
 „ the grand *Achitophels*; nay, shew himselfe a sin-re-
 „ venging God, and smite the Souldiers in the Castle
 „ with deadly diseases, *with one Pox more then they car-
 „ ried in with them, with the Flux, the Calenture, the*

„ spotted

„ I tooke, *says he* (*d*), all the care I could (*d*) p. 20,
 „ of his body whilest he was sicke, and will ^{21.}
 „ (as farre as he was innocent) take care of
 „ his fame and reputation now he is dead :
 „ nay, whilest he was alive, I tooke care of
 „ something more precious then his health
 „ or reputation, to wit, his precious and be-
 „ loved soule; for in compassion to his soule
 „ I dealt freely and plainly with him, and
 „ told him that he had been very active in
 „ fomenting these bloudy warres against the
 „ Parliament and Common-wealth of Eng-
 „ land, his naturall countrey, and by conse-
 „ quent, against the very light of nature :
 „ „ I acknowledge (*saith he*) that I have beene
 „ active in these warres, but I have ever fol-
 „ lowed the dictates of my conscience; and
 „ if you convince me that I am in an er-
 „ rour, you shall not finde me obstinate.“ I
 „ told him, I conceived that he might want
 „ sleep;

„ *spotted Feaver, and the like*; if in the midst of these
 „ distresses the Souldiers breake forth into a *mutinous*
 „ *flame*, and set all their fellowes in a combustion, must
 „ the Engineer bee blamed if the Castle be surrendred
 „ in such a case? Now I appeale to their Councell of
 „ Warre, whether their case were not so like to these
 „ cases which have beene put, that it is hard to say where-
 „ in they differed. Let not then Master *Chillingworth*
 „ be charged with more faults then he was guilty of; I
 „ cannot but vindicate his reputation from all false asper-
 „ sions, which are cast upon him by some who know
 „ not how to excuse themselves.

„ sleep, being at that time newly come out
 „ of the Castle, and therefore I gave him
 „ time to refresh himself: and when I came
 „ to him againe, I asked him whether he was
 „ fit for discourse; he told me, yes, but
 „ somewhat faintly: I certified him, that I
 „ did not desire to take him at the lowest,
 „ when his spirits were flatted, and his rea-
 „ son disturbed, but had much rather under-
 „ take him when he was at the highest, be-
 „ cause I came prepared to receive satisfac-
 „ tion, and looked upon my selfe as unlike-
 „ ly to give satisfaction to one, whom I
 „ acknowledged so much above mee, in re-
 „ gard of his parts, gifts, experience; he
 „ having studied bookes and men, and more
 „ accurately discussed that question of State
 „ then ever I had done. He then told me,
 „ that he was pretty well refreshed, and as
 „ able (as he used to be in these times of
 „ distraction) for any discourse about that
 „ great controversie of State. He desired me
 „ to begin: I satisfied his desire, and told
 „ him that it would be very requisite in the
 „ first place to state the Question aright;
 „ for (as I conceived) many ingenious men
 „ were grossely mistaken even in the very
 „ state of the Question.

(e) P. 21. „ First then (e) be pleased (quoth I) to con-
 „ sider, that *the originall difference was not*
 „ *between the King and the Parliament,*
 „ but between the *Parliament and Delin-*
 „ quents;

„ *quents* ; and indeed, betweene the *Queen*
 „ *and the Parliament* : I told him, that hee
 „ could not be ignorant that upon the fourth
 „ of *January*, two yeares agoe, *the King*
 „ *went unto the Parliament upon the Queens*
 „ *errand* (f) ; and I beleevved that he knew bet- (f) On the
 „ then I, how much *the Queen was discon-* 5th Jan.
 „ *tented, because her bloody designe was not* 1641-2
 „ *put in execution*: He told me, *that he* the King
 „ *could not deny, and he would not excuse* went to
 „ *it*. When I was going on to discourse the House
 „ about other matters of fact, he confessed of Com-
 „ very honestly, that he did now perceive, mons, to
 „ *that they had no certaine information of* demand
 „ *matters of fact at Oxford*: whereby I per- the five
 „ ceived that it was no wonder that so many Members.
 „ brave men were seduced to fight against the
 „ Parliament.
 „ Upon further discourse, he told me that
 „ he observed a great deal of piety in the
 „ Commanders and Souldiers of the Par-
 „ liaments Army : „ I confesse (saith he) their
 „ discourse and behaviour doth speake them
 „ Christians, but I can finde little of God
 „ or godlinesse in our men ; they will not
 „ seeke God whilst they are in their brave-
 „ ry, nor trust him when they are in dis-
 „ tresse ; I have much adoe (saith he) to
 „ bring them upon their knees, to call up-
 „ on God, or to resigne themselves up to
 „ God, when they goe on upon any despe-
 „ rate service, or are cast into any perplexed
 „ condition.

THE LIFE OF

„ condition.” I liked him well, when I
 „ heard him run on so fluently to this ef-
 „ fect, and I closed with him, and desired
 „ him to tell me freely, whether in good
 „ earnest he thought the Parliament did in-
 „ tend any thing else then the *taking of the*
 „ *wicked from before the King, the establish-*
 „ *ing of the Kings throne in justice, the set-*
 „ *ting up of Christs ordinances in power,*
 „ *purity, liberty, and the settling of the*
 „ *knowne lawes of the land, the priviledges*
 „ *of the Parliament, and liberties of the sub-*
 „ *jects, in quiet and peace.*

(g) p. 21,
 22,

„ Sir (saith he) I must acknowledge (g) that
 „ I doe verily beleeeve that the intentions of
 „ the Parliament are better then the inten-
 „ tions of the Court, or of that Army which
 „ I have followed; but I conceive that the
 „ Parliament takes a wrong course to pro-
 „ secute and accomplish their good inten-
 „ tions; for warre is not the way of Iesus
 „ Christ.

Mr. Cheynell was so pleased with these
 Answers of Mr. Chillingworth, that he
 thought it ungenerous to dispute with him
 any longer (BBB). But this resolution was
 soon

(BBB) Mr. Cheynell was so pleas'd with these An-
 swers of Mr. Chillingworth, that he thought it ungenerous
 (1) pag 22. to dispute any longer with him]. „ Truly, says he (1), I
 „ was ashamed to dispute with him any longer, when
 „ he had given me so much advantage: For first, he
 „ clearly

soon alter'd; he could not help putting further questions to him.

„ I desir'd him, *says he (h)*, to tell me, ^{(b) p. 23,}
 „ *whether the highest Court of justice in* ^{24.}
 „ *the Kingdome may not compell Delin-*
quents

„ clearly condemned himselfe for being confederate
 „ with them, whose intentions were destructive; be-
 „ cause no man must promote an ill designe by any
 „ meanes whatsoever, be they never so lawfull. Se-
 „ condly, he confessed himselfe cleane out of his way
 „ when he was in Armes; for warre, saith he, (and he
 „ learnt to say so of the *Anabaptists* and *Socinians*) is
 „ not the way of Iesus Christ; all that he could say for
 „ himselfe was, that he had no command in the Army;
 „ and yet their greatest Officers told me that in a true
 „ construction there was no man else that had a command
 „ to any purpose, but Master *Chillingworth*. And as
 „ touching their intentions, it is no hard matter to guesse
 „ at the intentions of the French and Spanish faction at
 „ Court, or the *Irish intentions of the Papists, Prelates,*
 „ *Delinquents, &c. that follow the Queens Army.* . . .

„ And as touching (2) the meanes used, Master *Chilling-* ^{(2) p. 23,}
 „ *worth* himself would not say that the Queen and her
 „ adherents, Prelates, Papists, Delinquents, Malig-
 „ nants, of the French conspiracy, the *Spanish* faction,
 „ or the *Irish* Rebellion, and their confederates, doe
 „ take better courses, and use more lawfull meanes to
 „ accomplish their intentions, and bring about their
 „ designes, then the Parliament of *England*, the King-
 „ dome of *Scotland*, and the Protestants in *Ireland*:
 „ since then Master *Chillingworth* did (as all ingenuous
 „ and active spirits doe) detest Neutrality, hee might
 „ have seene (for hee had light enough to see) the way
 „ of Iesus Christ.

„ quents (*who are protected by force a-*
 „ *gainst Law*) to come in by force of
 „ *Armes, that they may be tryed according*
 „ *to Law?*

„ First, hee acknowledged that the Parlia-
 „ ment is the highest Court; and therefore
 „ (I conclude) not to be controlled by some
 „ few of the Kings Councell, or by a pre-
 „ tended Assembly, consisting of Fugitives
 „ and Delinquents. Secondly, saith he, I
 „ must deale plainly with you, though the
 „ Parliament hath voted some to be Delin-
 „ quents, and the Queen her selfe to be a
 „ Traitour, yet I doe not beleevē that their
 „ judgement is infallible. I was able to an-
 „ swere him out of his owne booke, that
 „ *the judgement of a Court or person* (espe-
 „ cially where there is evidence of the fact)
 „ *may be certaine, though that Court or per-*
 „ *son be not infallible:* Secondly, though the
 „ judgment of the highest Court be not in-
 „ fallible, yet it is finall, and therefore we
 „ *cannot appeale from the judgement of the*
 „ *Parliament, to any Court, but the Court*
 „ *of heaven.* True (saith Master Chilling-
 „ worth) but this is it which stickes with
 „ me, that there is no fundamentall con-
 „ stitution for the government of this King-
 „ dome *by a standing Parliament:* To which
 „ I had many answers to returne; first, there
 „ is a fundamentall constitution for the go-
 „ vernment of this Kingdome by the three
 „ Estates;

„ Estates: secondly, there is a Law for the
 „ frequency of Parliaments: and thirdly,
 „ the vertue and strength of every Parlia-
 „ ment continues in the Acts of every Par-
 „ liament, by which the Kingdome is go-
 „ verned, even after the dissolution of that
 „ Parliament; every Parliament doth live in
 „ its unrepealed Acts, and therefore lives
 „ even after its dissolution; and in that re-
 „ spect wee have many Parliaments yet stan-
 „ ding; *some old Elisabeth-Parliaments do*
 „ *as yet live, breath, move, and operate,*
 „ *with strength and vigour:* fourthly, there
 „ is an Act passed for the continuance of
 „ this Parliament, by the unanimous con-
 „ sent of all three Estates; *and the Kings*
 „ *Councell could not find any other probable*
 „ *meanes under heaven for the disengaging*
 „ *of his Majesty, then the framing and pas-*
 „ *sing of that Act of continuance.* Master
 „ Chillingworth (putting off his hat) cried,
 „ I acknowledge that Act with all reve-
 „ rence, and *there is your strength.* He
 „ seemed pretty well satisfied with that an-
 „ swere; and as touching *the way of Jesus*
 „ *Christ,* I desired to know whether the
 „ Saints were not to make warre against the
 „ Whore and the Beast? Whether it be not
 „ an act of charity, for Protestants to lay
 „ downe their lives for their Brethren? Whe-
 „ ther it be not an act of faith, to waxe
 „ valiant in fight for the defence of that
 „ faith,

„ faith, which was once delivered to the
 „ Saints? I perceived my Gentleman some-
 „ what puzzled, and I tooke my leave, that
 „ he might take his rest.

(i) Dated
 from Chi-
 chester,
 Jan. 23.

On the 23th of January, Captain Robert King sent the following *Letter* (i), to Mr. Walter Jones, *one of the Chaplains of Christ Church in Oxford*, to give him an account of the condition Mr. Chillingworth lay in, and to desire him to acquaint his friends there with it:

(k) Chey-
 nell, *ubi*
supr. p.
 15, 16.

„ Kind friend (k), Master *Chilling-*
 „ *worth* was in so weake a condition, by rea-
 „ son of a violent fluxe, that I perswade my
 „ selfe hee could not have lived the first night
 „ of his journey, had he gone farther; for it
 „ was very tedious to him to be brought hi-
 „ ther. He lyes very ill, and (for ought I
 „ perceive) in a desperate condition; and
 „ how God may dispose of him we know
 „ not: if any of his friends have a purpose
 „ to come into these parts, they shall have free
 „ passage without any molestation. Liev-
 „ tenant *Golledge* performes the part of a
 „ reall friend in every kinde; neither is
 „ *Christobell* wanting in her best care and
 „ diligence. *Lieutenant Golledge* hath al-
 „ ready disburs't 10 *li.* or thereabout: It
 „ would not be amisse that some of Master
 „ *Chillingworths* friends were present with
 „ him, whilest there is some hope of life;
 „ for it will be a great satisfaction both to him
 „ and

„ and others: There must be no delays
 „ either of time or money.

„ I heare that Master *Chillingworths* Sister,
 „ whom hee hath made Executrix, is travel-
 „ ling with childe, and therefore unfit for
 „ travell, but he is very confident she will
 „ not let him want for necessary supplies
 „ whilest he lives, and that hee may have
 „ decent buriall (befitting one of his merit)
 „ if it pleaseth God he chance to dye. Among
 „ other of his friends, I pray acquaint Dr.
 „ *Shelden*, the Warden of *All-soules*, with
 „ what is written, whom Master *Chilling-*
 „ *worth* doth very highly esteem. Your af-
 „ fectionate friend, &c.

Mr. Cheynell was very much concern'd at
 the present condition of Mr. Chillingworth.

„ My heart, *says he* (*l*), was moved with com- (*l*) P. 25.
 „ passion towards him, and I gave him many
 „ visits after this first visit; but I seldome
 „ found him in fit case to discourse, because
 „ his disease grew stronger and stronger, and
 „ he weaker and weaker.

But this consideration could not hinder
 our zealot from using all opportunities to
 trouble Mr. Chillingworth with his ques-
 tions.

„ I desired, *says he*, to know his opinion
 „ concerning that *Liturgy* which hath beene
 „ formerly so much extolled, and even ido-
 „ lized amongst the people; but all the an-
 „ swer that I could get was to this purpose,

„ that *there were some truths which the Mi-*
 „ *nisters of the Gospel are not bound upon*
 „ *paine of damnation to publish to the peo-*
 „ *ple*: and indeed he conceived it very unfit
 „ to publish any thing concerning the Com-
 „ mon-Prayer-Book, or the Book of Ord-
 „ nation, &c. *for feare of scandall.*

Mr. Cheynell, we see, owns that these are not the words of Mr. Chillingworth, but says they were *to that purpose*. He afterwards passes the following censure upon them:

„ I was sorry, *says he*, to heare such an an-
 „ swer drop from a dying man, and I con-
 „ ceived it could not but be much more
 „ scandalous, to seduce or hoodwink the
 „ people, then to instruct and edifie them in
 „ a point which did *directly concerne the pub-*
 „ *like worship of God in this Land.*

„ When I found him pretty hearty one
 „ day, *pursues Mr. Cheynell*, I desired him
 „ to tell me, *whether he conceived that a*
 „ *man living and dying a Turk, Papist, or*
 „ *Socinian, could be saved?*

„ All the answer that I could gaine from
 „ him was, *that he did not absolve them,*
 „ *and would not condemne them.*

This answer could by no means please our rigid Orthodox (CCC).

Mr.

(CCC) *This Answer could by no means please our Rigid Orthodox].*

Mr. Chillingworth being tired with such unseasonable, captious, and phanatical Questions, begg'd of Mr. Cheynell to spare him: but our zealot answer'd that request with a severe reprimand:

ibid. to Wood with Mr. Wood, When

Orthodox]. „ I was much displeas'd, says he (1), with (1) p. 25.

„ the answer upon divers reasons: First, because the ^{26.}

„ question was put home, of a man living and dying,

„ so or so. Secondly, it was frivolous to talk of Ab-

„ solution, for it was out of question that he could

„ not absolve them. Thirdly, it shewed that he was

„ too well perswaded of Turcism and Socinianism,

„ which runne exactly parallel in too many points.

„ Fourthly, he seems to Anathematize the Socinians in

„ the Preface to the Author of Charity maintained

„ Sect. 28. when *Knot* had reckoned up some Socinian

„ Tenets, Mr. *Chillingworth* answers, *Whosoever teaches*

„ or holds them, let him be Anathema. I have not *Knots*

„ Book by me now, I meane his direction to N. N. and

„ Mr. *Chillingworth* was so wise as not to reckon up

„ the number of those impious doctrins, or name them

„ in particular, because they were all fathered upon

„ him, and he would not assist Mr. *Knot* so farre in

„ the spreading of his owne undeserved defamation,

„ *ibid.* Sect. 28 (2). I am afraid that *Knot* reckoned up (2) See

„ too many points of Socinianism, or did not forme Rem.(BB)

„ his Interrogations aright, and then Mr. *Chillingworth* and p. 150,

„ might safely anathematize, and yet be a Socinian in ^{151.}

„ many points which were not reckoned up, or not

„ well expressed: And yet his Anathema is warily pro-

„ nounced, he doth not say, Whosoever teaches or

„ holds them or any of them, let him be Anathema.

„ Moreover, if the Socinians be asked, whether Christ

[to be asked] Z 2 „ be

BT THE LIFE OF AM

„ When Mr. *Chillingworth*, says he (m),
 „ saw himsele entangled in disputes, he de-
 „ fired me that I would deale charitably with
 „ him, for, saith he, I was ever a charitable
 „ man: my answer was somewhat tart, and
 „ therefore the more charitable, considering
 „ his condition, and the counsell of the A-
 „ postle, *Titus* 1. 13. *Rebuke them sharply,*
 „ or (as *Beza* hath it) *precisely, that they may*
 „ *be found in the faith*; And I desire not
 „ to conceale my tartnesse, it was to this
 „ effect: Sir, it is confessed that you have
 „ beene very excessive in your charity; you
 „ have lavished out so much charity upon
 „ *Turks, Socinians, Papists*, that I am a-
 „ fraid you have very little to spare for a
 „ truly reformed Protestant; sure I am, the
 „ zealous Protestants finde very little charity
 „ at Oxford.

But
 „ be God, they will say, Yes; but then they meane
 „ that he is the Sonne of God, borne after an extra-
 „ ordinary manner by the overshadowing of the holy
 „ Ghost, *Luke* 1. 31, 32, 35. or that the word of God
 „ came unto him, and therefore is called God, because
 „ of his extraordinary Commission from God, or the
 „ like, *Iohn* 10. 35. Now either Mr. *Chillingworth* was
 „ guilty of some such equivocation and fly evasion, or
 „ else he grew worse and worse, and would not ana-
 „ thematize a grosse Socinian. And if in these latter
 „ dayes Seducers grow worse and worse, I shall not
 „ wonder at it, 2 *Tim.* 3. 13.

But Mr. Cheynell seems to have come afterwards into a better temper : for he declined answering a question put to him by Mr. Chillingworth, which might have occasion'd a long and warm debate.

The last time, I visited him, *says he* (n), ^{(n) p. 26,}
 „ Was on the Lords day (o), for I thought ^{27.}
 „ it a Sabbath-duty, and then he began to ^{(o) Jan. 28.}
 „ speak of some questions which I former- ^{1643-4.}
 „ ly propounded to him, whereof the first was ^{See Rem.}
 „ one; *Whether Tyranny was Gods Ordinance?* I presently took him off from that ^{(DDD).}
 „ discourse, because I knew he had beene
 „ laid up fast by that argument before; for
 „ it is impossible that any man should ever
 „ prove, that Tyranny is not to be resisted
 „ upon this ground, because we must not
 „ resist Gods Ordinance, unless they could
 „ prove, that which is *blasphemy to mention,*
 „ viz. *That Tyranny is Gods Ordinance.* I
 „ desired him that he would now take off
 „ his thoughts from all matters of *Speculation,*
 „ and fix upon some practicall point which
 „ might make for his *Edification.*

„ He thanked me (as I hope) very heartily, and told me that in all points of Religion he was settled, and had fully expressed himselfe for the satisfaction of others in his Book, which was approved and licensed by very learned and judicious Divines; Upon further discourse I began to tell him what meditation did most comfort

„ me in times of Extremity: and I added
 „ that the meditation was very proper for a
 „ man in his condition, if he could lay hold
 „ upon the *Covenant of Grace* Not
 „ long after, I told him, that I did use to
 „ pray for him in private, and asked him
 „ whether it was his desire that I should pray
 „ for him in publique: he answered, yes,
 „ with all his heart; and he said withall,
 „ that he hoped he should fare the better for
 „ my prayers.

At the same time, Mr. Cheynell shew'd his
 readiness to procure him all the assistance and
 relief possible.

(p) p. 27,
 28.

„ I observed, *says he (p)*, that Mr. Chil-
 „ *lingworth* was much troubled with a sore
 „ throat, and oppressed with tough phlegme,
 „ which would certainly choak him up, if
 „ there were not some sudden remedy. I
 „ sent therefore to a Chirurgeon, one of Mr.
 „ *Chillingworths* believe, an able man, that
 „ pleased him well, and gave him some ease.
 „ And the next day being Munday, at our
 „ morning-exercise in the Cathedrall, I de-
 „ fired the souldiers and Citizens that they
 „ would in their prayers remember the dis-
 „ tressed estate of Mr. *Chillingworth* a sick
 „ Prisoner in the City, *a man very eminent*
 „ *for the strength of his parts, the excellency*
 „ *of his gifts, and the depth of his learn-*
 „ *ing*: I told them that they were commanded
 „ to love their enemies, and therefore were
 „ bound

bound to pray for them, especially when
 God moved the heart of an enemy to de-
 fire their prayers: We prayed heartily that
 God would be pleased to bestow *saving*
graces as well as *excellent gifts* upon him,
 that so all his gifts might be improved and
 sanctified: we desired that God would give
 him new light, and new eyes, that he
 might see, acknowledge, and recant his
 errours, that he might deny his carnall rea-
 son, and submit to faith: that God would
 blesse all meanes which were used for his
 recovery, &c.

I beleieve none of his friends or my ene-
 mies can deny that we made a respectfull
 and Christian mention of him in our
 prayers.

The same day, *pursues Mr. Cheynell*, I
 rid to *Arundel* to move the Doctor to come
 over againe to visit Mr. *Chillingworth* (q),
 but the Doctour was sent for out of Town
 (before I got thither) to visit Sir *William*
Springot, and so I lost my journey, and
 the Doctour saw him no more. In my
 absence a religious Officer of *Chichester*
 garrison followed my suit to Mr. *Chil-*
lingworth, and entreated him to declare
 himselfe in point of Religion; but Mr.
Chillingworth appealed to his Book againe,
 and said he was setled, as you may see it
 more largely set down in Mr. *Edmonds* his
 Testimony before.

(q) See a-
 bove pag-
 323, 324.

The Testimony of Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Chillingworth's Apothecary, given under his hand, and printed in Mr. Cheynell's Pamphlet (r), runs thus :

(r) p. 16,
17.

„ A friend standing by him (Mr. Chillingworth) desired him to declare himselfe in
 „ point of Religion, for two reasons: first,
 „ Because the Iesuites had much defamed and
 „ traduced him in that particular: secondly,
 „ Because he might be able to give an ac-
 „ count to his friends, in case he should sur-
 „ vive. He answered, he had declared him-
 „ selfe already in that point sufficiently to
 „ the world. His friend told him, that
 „ there went abroad some hard opinions that
 „ he had of Iesus Christ, and wist him to
 „ deale candidly and plainly to the world in
 „ that point. He answered, for those things
 „ he was settled and resolved, and therefore
 „ did not desire to be further troubled. Be-
 „ ing demanded, what course should be taken
 „ for his interment, in case God should take
 „ him away in this place; he replied, that
 „ where ever God should please to take him,
 „ he would there be interred; and (if it
 „ might be obtained) according to the cus-
 „ tome of the Church of England; if not,
 „ the Lords will be done. And further said
 „ hee) because the world will be apt to sur-
 „ mise the worst of things, and there may
 „ be some inquiry made after my usage in
 „ this place, I must testifie and declare to all
 „ the

„ the world, that I have received both of
 „ Master Golledge and his wife, abundance
 „ of love, care, and tenderneſſe, where I
 „ deſerved it not; and that I have wanted
 „ nothing which might be deſired of them:
 „ and I muſt in all conſcience and honeſty
 „ doe them this right, to teſtifie the truth
 „ to the world: or to that effect.

Mr. Chillingworth dyed ſoon after; but
 I cannot find what day (DDD). Mr. Chey-
 nell

(DDD) Mr. Chillingworth died ſoon after, but I can-
 not find what day]. It will appear very ſtrange to thoſe
 who are unacquainted with the many defects in Hiſtory,
 that no body hath yet endeavour'd to give us the exact
 date of the Death of a perſon ſo celebrated as Mr. Chil-
 lingworth, or at leaſt to bring it as near to its true time
 as poſſible. I ſpeak of the day of the month in which
 he died; for as to the year, every body agrees it was in
 the beginning of 1644; or 1643, according to the com-
 putation of the Church of England. Mr. Wood
 ſays (1), that he gave way to fate on the 24 of January (1) Vol. II.
 (or thereabouts), and the next day his body was brought c. 23.
 into the Cathedral Church &c: but he quotes no au-
 thority for it. Dr. Walker, who beſides the books,
 pamphlets, and manuſcripts he look'd over, writ to
 all the Clergy-men of the Kingdom, and conſequently
 to thoſe of Chicheſter, for an account of ſuch of the
 Clergy as had ſuffer'd in the late times of the Civil War,
 affirms (2) that his Death happen'd on the 20. of January. (2) An At-
 tempt, &c. ubi ſupr.
 But how he comes to differ from Mr. Wood, from
 whom he hath taken almoſt his whole account of Mr.
 Chillingworth, I cannot tell. Mr. Le Neve, who hath
 been

nell hath not vouchsafed to let us know it. That particular did not come within his design,

(3) *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae* &c. p. 267. been very inquisitive into these matters, observes (3) that he died January 20. or thereabouts; and cites Mr. Wood, who says it was on the 24 of January. And the truth is, no Author, that I know of, hath furnish'd us with the precise date. But tho' Mr. Wood could not fix it, for want of sufficient information, yet having by him Mr. Cheynell's Relation, he might come nearer to it than he hath done.

For, the Letter of Captain King to Mr. Jones above-recited (4), wherein he gives him an account of Mr. Chillingworth's illness, and invites some of his Oxford friends to come and see him, *whilest there was some hope of life*, is dated January 23, which was on a Tuesday. Moreover, Mr. Cheynell having observed, that Mr. Chillingworth's spirit was much dejected, because his friends neglected or delayed to send him some good news from

(5) *Ibid.* p. 324. Oxford, &c (5); says afterwards, that the last time he visited him was on the Lord's day (6): and if we suppose

(6) *Ibid.* p. 341. that this happen'd the Sunday next following, it was on the 28th of January. He says likewise, that the next day being Munday, at their morning exercise in the Cathedral, he desir'd the souldiers and Citizens that they would in their Prayers remember the distressed estate of

(7) *Ib.* p. 342. Mr. Chillingworth a sick Prisoner in the City, &c (7): and this was on the 29th. He observes further, that the same day he rid to Arundel to move the Doctor to come over again to visit Mr. Chillingworth, but he was sent for out

(8) *Ib.* p. 343. of Town, and the Doctor saw him no more (8); and as he does not mention that he himself saw him after this, it is highly probable that he died the next day, being Tuesday the 30th of January.

sign, which was, to shew that notwithstanding his irreconcilable hatred to Mr. Chillingworth's

He had made his Will on the 22th of November 1643. This last writing of his gives so just an idea of his Piety, Justice, Charity and publick Spirit, that I could not forbear inserting it here.

The last Will and Testament of William Chillingworth, Clerk, written by him November the 22th. 1643 (9).

Imprimis, I commend my Soule to God, hoping to be saved through his infinite Mercy, and the Mediation of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, my desire is that all my Debts be paid, particularly forty pounds to the Executors of Mr. Dudley Diggs, late Fellow of Oriel Colledge; which I mention in particular, because I am uncertaine whether they know of it or no.

Item, I give to the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford four hundred pounds, to be paid by fifty pounds a year in eight years; and as it is paid, I would have it lent to poore young Tradefinen by fifty pounds a piece for ten years, they giving good securitie to repay it at ten yeares, and to pay forty shillings *per annum* consideration; and the money paid for consideration I would have it laid out in binding young poore Children, Boys or Girls, Apprentices, allowing to bind every one Apprentice eight pounds a piece. But my will is that none shall be capable of this Charity, but those that are really poore; and none of those that are indeed so I would have excluded from the participation of it. And therefore as often as such summe comes in, I would have the names of all the poore Children in Oxford, and the Suburbs of it, put into a

(9) Prerogative Office, in Reg. *Twyss*, 140. The Probate is dated October the 27th 1646.

lingworth's Principles; he had treated him, while alive, with a due regard to his great merit and present condition (EEE); where-
by

„ Lotterye, and whosoever's name is drawn out, him
„ or her I would have partaker of it. Always provided,
„ that they are between twelve and sixteen years of Age;
„ and that they can repeat perfectly the *Catechisme* of the
„ Church of England: which if he that fortunes to be
„ drawne out cannot do, I would have him put by for
„ that time, and other drawne who can perform this
„ perfectly.

„ All the rest of my Goods I give to my Brothers and
„ Sisters Children.

(10) Mary
Chilling-
worth.

„ I make my deare Sister (10) my sole Executrix
„ and my deare Father Doctour Sheldon, and Mr. Fi-
„ mothy Carter, Overseers, to whom I give five pounds
„ a piece.

„ *Item*, my will is that my late deare Brothers Will,
„ though not seal'd by him, the Copy whereof lyes in
„ my Deske in my Study, should be exactly and punctu-
„ ally performed.

„ This is my last Will and Testament. In witness
„ whereof I have set my hand

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.

I could not find his Codicil in the Prerogative Office; tho' Mr. Cheynell, who hath given us some account of it, says that Mr. Chillingworth *desired it should be annexed to his Will* (11).

(11) See
Rem.
(EEE).

(EEE) *He had treated him with a due regard to his*

(1) See above, p. 523. *great merit and present condition*]. Mr. Cheynell had observed before (1), that „ the Governour of Chichester „ gave order that Lieutenant Colledge should take charge „ of

by, he thought, himself acquitted from the imputation of uncharitableness towards him after his death.

yd „ From

of him, and placed him in the Bishop of *Chichester's* Palace, where he had very courteous usage, and all accommodations which were requisite for a sick man: as appears, *pursues he* (2), by the testimony of (2) pag. 15.

his owne man at *Oxford*, and a Letter of thankfull acknowledgment from Master *Chillingworth's* father to Lievtenant *Golledge*: nay, by Master *Chillingworth's* Codicill, which hee desired should be annexed to his Will, in which he gave 10*li.* to Capitaine *King*, 10*li.* to *Mistresse Mason*, who keeps the Bishops house, and attended Master *Chillingworth* in his sicknesse, and 10*li.* to Lievtenant *Golledge*: And it may further appeare by a Letter of Captain *Kings* sent to *Oxford*, and the testimony of Master *Edmonds*, his Apothecary (3).

Indeed it appears by Mr. Cheynell's Relation, that he was often teased by Mr. Cheynell himself, and by an Officer of the garrison of *Chichester*, with impertinent questions and disputes: but to say, that this kind of inhumanity was the cause of his death, is, in my humble opinion, doing them an injury. And I will presume to affirm, that it was for want of being rightly inform'd that the Earl of *Clarendon* hath exprest'd himself on that occasion in the following manner. After having observed that Mr. *Chillingworth* was taken Prisoner in *Arundel Castle* (4), he adds: *Assoon* (5) as his Person was known, which would have drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their Barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew

(3) See above, p. 336, and 314.

(4) See above, p. 314.

(5) *Ubi* *supr.* p. m. 473.

(s) p. 28, „ From my first visitation of Mr. *Chilling-*
 29. „ *worth* to the last, *says he (s)*, I did not
 „ find him in a condition which might any
 „ way move mee (had I beene his deadly
 „ enemy) *either to flatter or envy him; but*
 „ *rather to pity and pray for him; as you*
 „ see I did. I dare appeale to his eminent
 „ and learned friends, whether there could
 „ bee more *mercy* shewn to his *body*, or
 „ *charity* to his *soule*, whilst he was alive?
 „ Consider

him not but by his Book, and the Reputation he had with
Learned Men. From whence it may be inferr'd, that
 My Lord Clarendon did not know, or had forgot, that
 Mr. Chillingworth was sent to Chichester; but believ'd
 that he *died* in Arundel Castle, *within few days* after the
 taking of it by Sir William Waller.

(6) Vol. II. Mr. Wood, who had before him Mr. Cheynell's Re-
 c. 23. lation, expressees himselfe with more reserve than my
 Lord Clarendon. „ At length, *says he (6)*, the Castle
 „ coming into the hands of the parliamentary Forces,
 „ on the sixth day of *January* 1643, he [*Mr. Chilling-*
 „ *worth*] was by the endeavours of Mr. *Fran. Cheynell*
 „ (about that time Rector of *Petworth*) made to Sir
 „ *Will. Waller* the prime Governour of those forces,
 „ conveyed to *Chichester*, and there lodged in the Bi-
 „ shops house, because he being very sick, could not go
 „ to *London* with the prisoners taken in the said Castle.
 „ In the said house, *pursues Mr. Wood*, he remained to
 „ his dying day, and tho civilly used, yet he was much
 „ troubled with the impertinent discourses and disputes
 „ of the said *Cheynell*, which the royal party of that
 „ City looked upon as a shortning of our Authors
 „ days.

„ Consider what it is worth to have a fort-
 „ nights space to repent in. O what would
 „ *Dives* have proffered for such a mercy?
 „ if Mr. *Chillingworth* did not emprove it,
 „ that was no fault of mine; And shall not
 „ my charity to his soule and body whilest
 „ he was alive, acquit me from being uncha-
 „ ritable towards him after his death? No
 „ reasonable man will deeme mee guilty of
 „ such an uncharitable madnesse as to be
 „ angry with a carcasse, or to goe wrestle
 „ with a ghost; for I consider that his ghost
 „ might cry, *in faciem sepeli*, Bury me with
 „ my face downward, if you please, for
 „ when the *Macedonians* (give me leave to
 „ change the story a little, and say, when
 „ the *Irish*) come, and they were then neare
 „ us, they will *turn all upside down*: I am
 „ no *Sylla*, I did not give any command to
 „ scatter the reliques of *Marius*: though I
 „ have not much Wisdome, yet I have more
 „ charity then to deserve that lash of the
 „ Oratour, *He had beene more wise had he*
 „ *beene lesse violent*; and yet I will confesse
 „ that I am, and ought to be violent for
 „ *Christ* and *Heaven*, and my passions are
 „ too often as hot as my zeale, but They
 „ may beare with small faults, and in this
 „ businesse I have proceeded with delibera-
 „ tion and moderation: I consider that I
 „ am in the body, and my body may be
 „ delivered (I know not how soone) into
 „ the

*Marii reli-
 quias dissi-
 pars iussit,
 acerbiore o-
 dio, quam
 si tam sapi-
 ens fuisset
 quam rebe-
 mens fuit.
 Cicero de
 Leg.*

THE LIFE OF

„ the enemies hand ; I doe not expect (though
 „ I might desire) that halfe that mercy which
 „ I shewed to Master *Chillingworth* may be
 „ shewen to me ; *Defunctorum cineribus vi-*
 „ *olentiam inferre sacrilega præsumptio est*,
 „ is a Rule (if I mistake not) in the Civill
 „ Law ; and I shall be able to justifie my
 „ carriage in the businesse of his Funerall to
 „ the face of his greatest Patrons, from all
 „ inhumanity or sacriledge,

„ *Sacrilegæ bustis abstinuere manus.*

Then he gives an account of his proceed-
 ings, and those of his party, in relation to
 Mr. Chillingworth's Funeral ; and is afraid
 his Charity went so far, that it might be lyable
 to censure.

(t) p. 29,
 30.

„ Let us (if you please) take a view of all
 „ our proceedings, *says he (t)*, and of Master
 „ *Chillingworths* opinions, and then (I am
 „ afraid) some will say there was a little fool-
 „ ish pity shewed on my part, and the uncha-
 „ ritableness will be found in them onely,
 „ who censure me for want of charity.

„ First, there were all things which may
 „ any way appertaine to the *civility* of a
 „ funerall, though there was nothing which
 „ belongs to the *superstition* of a funerall :
 „ His body was decently laid in a convenient
 „ coffin, covered with a *mourning Herse-*
 „ *cloth*, more seemly (as I conceive) then
 „ the

„ the usuall covering, patched up *out of the*
 „ *mouldy reliques of some moth-eaten copes* :
 „ His friends were entertained (according to
 „ their own desire) with Wine and Cakes ;
 „ though that is, in my conceit, a *turning*
 „ *of the house of mourning into an house of*
 „ *banquetting* : All that offered themselves
 „ to carry his corps out of pure devotion,
 „ because they were *men of his perswasion*,
 „ had every one of them (according to the
 „ custome of the countrey) a branch of Rose-
 „ mary, a mourning Ribband, and a paire of
 „ Gloves. But (as it doth become an impar-
 „ tiall Historian) I confesse there were three
 „ severall opinions concerning his buriall.

„ The first opinion (*u*) was negative and (*u*) P. 30,
 „ peremptory, That hee ought not to be ³¹.
 „ buried like a Christian, 1. Who refused
 „ to make a full and free confession of Chri-
 „ stian Religion : 2. Nay, if there had been
 „ nothing else against him, but his taking
 „ up of Armes against his countrey, that
 „ they conceived a sufficient reason to deny
 „ the buriall of his corps. In the
 „ third place, some were bold to say that
 „ he was *Felo de se*, guilty of his owne death,
 „ by his foole-hardinesse. Finally, it was
 „ alledged that he was an Heretick, no mem-
 „ ber of any of the Reformed Churches,
 „ and therefore to be reckoned as an Ex-
 „ communicated person ; now you know
 „ what law it is which denieth buriall to

„ Heretikes, and Excommunicated persons,
 „ though they be excommunicated for in-
 „ conformity onely, for not appearing, or
 „ not paying of 3 s. 4 d. or some such like
 „ cause; Read *Pickerings Case* in the high
 „ Commission“.

He shews afterwards what notion they had
 of Mr. Chillingworth (FFF).

„ The

(FFF) *He shews afterwards what notion they had of*
 (1) p. 31. *Mr. Chillingworth*]. „ The truth is, says he (1), we
 „ look'd upon Master *Chillingworth* as a kind of Non-
 „ conformist, nay (to speake strictly) a Recusant rather
 „ then a Non-conformist; for Non-conformists refuse
 „ to subscribe to *Canons* which concerne *Discipline*, but
 „ Master *Chillingworth* refused to subscribe some *Arti-*
 „ *cles of Religion*, as he himselve acknowledges, though
 „ he thought charitably of them who did subscribe them:
 „ For (he saith) he doth not undertake the peculiar
 „ defence of the *Church of England*, but the *commors*
 „ *cause of Protestants*; and yet he doth not hold the
 „ doctrine of all Protestants true, because they hold con-
 „ traditions, yet he conceived them free from all er-
 „ rour destructive of salvation: and though he did make
 „ scruple of *subscribing the truth of one or two Proposi-*
 „ *tions*, yet he thought himselve fit enough to maintaine,
 „ *that those who doe subscribe them are in a saveable con-*
 „ *dition*. See the Preface to the Author of *Charity*
 „ maintained Sect. 39. You see Master *Chillingworth* did
 „ refuse to subscribe (2). What thinke ye (Gentlemen)
 „ are not *Chichester* men pretty good Disputants? Can
 „ you confute these Reasons? If you can, doe your
 „ best; if you cannot, I have no reason to prompt you;
 „ scratch your heads, beat your deskes, bite your nailes,
 „ and

(2) See
 Rem.
 (PP).

„ The second opinion, *says he* (x), was (x) P. 31,
 „ your opinion, and the opinion of such as 32.
 „ you are, my good friends at *Athens*; the
 „ men of a Cathedrall spirit thought it fit
 „ that Master *Chillingworth*, being a mem-
 „ ber of a Cathedrall, should be buried in
 „ the Cathedrall; and being *Cancellarius*, it
 „ was conceived that he should be buried
 „ *intra cancellos*, and not under the Altar,
 „ neare the pot of Incense, that the constant
 „ perfume of the Incense might excuse the
 „ thrift of his Executrix — *Ossa in odora*
 „ *dedit*. It was answered, that he was of
 „ or belonging to the Cathedrall at *Sarum*,
 „ and therefore they might carry him thi-
 „ ther; but then his Will could not be per-
 „ formed, because he desired to be buried
 „ at *Chichester*, in case he did end his dayes
 „ in that City. But some more serious con-
 „ ceived, that this desire of burying him *in-*
 „ *tra cancellos* was but the issue of a super-
 „ stitious conceit, that the Chancell, or
 „ *sanctum sanctorum*, was more holy then
 „ other places; and the carcasse of a Priest
 „ as sacred as that holy ground: And it was
 „ their opinion that a modest and well-
 „ grounded deniall of this request, would
 „ be the most effectuall confutation of that
 „ superstitious conceit.

A a 2

„ The

„ and I will goe sleep, and will not heare what they
 „ said of Master *Chillingworths* Argument on *Fieldings*
 „ case.

(y) P. 32. „ The third opinion (which prevailed) was
 „ this (y), that it would be fittest to *permit the*
 „ *men of his owne perswasion, out of meere*
 „ *humanity, to bury their dead out of our*
 „ *sight*; and to bury him in the *cloysters*,
 „ amongst the old Shavelings, Monkes, and
 „ Priests, of whom he had so good an opi-
 „ nion all his life.

(z) P. 32.
 33. „ The Prelaticall men, *adds he* (z), doe
 „ conceive, that there is a kinde of holinesse
 „ in a *cloyster*; no excommunicated person
 „ must be buried there, unlesse there be an
 „ absolution sent, either before the death
 „ of the party, or *to the dead corps*, (which
 „ they must call their beloved brother) *be-*
 „ *cause they themselves are as lothsome and*
 „ *rotten as the corps*: Nay, a Papist must
 „ not be buried in the Cloysters without spe-
 „ ciall dispensation from the Bishop; and
 „ you know *the Prelates would dispense*
 „ *with Papists alive or dead*. It is usuall
 „ to bury men of good rank and quality in
 „ *Collegiate Cloysters*; and sure I am, the
 „ *Cavaliers* doe not bury their dead so ho-
 „ nourably, *though they esteeme them the*
 „ *Queenes Martyrs, they throw them into*
 „ *ditches or rivers*.

„ Finally, Mr. *Chillingworths* bones shall
 „ rest without any disturbance, he shall not
 „ be used as *Wicliffe* was by Papists, or as
 „ *Bucer* was served by the Prelaticall faction
 „ at *Cambridge*, who vouchsafed him an Ho-
 „ nourable

„ honourable buriall in the dayes of *Edward*
 „ the sixth, *anno 1551*. because they knew
 „ it would be an acceptable service in the
 „ eyes of Saint *Edward*, as judicious *Hooker*
 „ styles him; but in the dayes of Queen *Mary*
 „ (the first of that name) the same men plucked
 „ him out of his grave againe after an inhu-
 „ mane and barbarous manner: but in Queen
 „ *Elizabeths* dayes, the same men wheeled
 „ about a third time, and made an honourable
 „ commemoration of him againe in Panegy-
 „ ricall Orations, and flattering verses.

„ *Mr. Chillingworth, pursues our author (a),* (a) p. 33.
 „ was buried by day, and therefore we had
 „ no Torches or Candles at his grave. *Ter-*
 „ *tullian* assures me, that the Christians used
 „ no such custome, though the Heathens did,
 „ and the Antichristians now doe. *Non*
 „ *frangimus lucernis, lucem Dei.*.....

„ Mr. Cheynell owns that he refused to bury
 Mr. Chillingworth, and endeavours to justi-
 fy it by several reasons (GGG). The last is
 this:

„ A a 3 „ Fi-

„ (GGG) *Mr. Cheynell owns that he refus'd to bury Mr.*
Chillingworth, and endeavours to justify it by several rea-
sons]. „ But it is strongly objected, *says he* (1), that (1) p. 33.
 „ my great and unanswerable fault was, that I did in 34. 35.
 „ *extremo actu deficere*, I refused to bury him my selfe,
 „ and left it to others: Sirs, I confesse it, and shall
 „ deale freely and candidly in the businesse.

„ First, *Mr. Chillingworth* in his life time, desired to
 „ have

THE LIFE OF

„ Finally, *says he (b)*, it was favour enough
 „ to permit Master *Chillingworths* disciples
 „ or followers, *the men of his perswasion*, to
 „ perform

„ have some part of the Common-prayer-book read over
 „ his Corps at the grave, in case it should please God
 „ to take him away into another world by that sicknesse.
 „ Now I could not yeeld to this request of his for many
 „ reasons which I need not specific; yet I shall say
 „ enough to give satisfaction to reasonable and modest
 „ men. I conceive it absurd and sinfull to use the same
 „ forme of words at the buriall of all manner of per-
 „ sons; namely, *to insinuate that they are all elected,*
 „ *that they doe all rest in Christ, that we have sure and*
 „ *certaine hope of their salvation, &c.* these and the like
 „ passages I durst not make use of upon that occasion;
 „ and all this, and a great deale more, was desired by
 „ Mr. *Chillingworth*: blame me not if I did *choose ra-*
 „ *ther to satisfie my owne conscience, then his desire....*

„ Secondly, I doe not know to what end and pur-
 „ pose wee should pray *over the dead*, unlesse we con-
 „ ceive it fitting to pray *for the dead*. I doe consider
 „ upon what slight occasions the people have heretofore
 „ runne into intolerable errors; and there is a kinde of
 „ natural superstition ingrafted in the minde of inge-
 „ nuous men in this great businesse: *men are apt to slide*
 „ *out of their civility and blinde devotion, into detestable*
 „ *superstition*. They who began to complement with
 „ the dead at first, did little dream that *their Comple-*
 „ *ments* should be urged as *Arguments* to prove that we
 „ may *make prayers to the dead*: and yet they who have
 „ searched farthest into the originall of that rotten su-
 „ perstition, and grosse idolatry, doe as clearly demon-
 „ strate my observation to be solid and rationally, as if
 „ it were a *truth written with a Sun-beame*.

And

„ perform this last office to their friend and
 „ Master. Now there was free liberty gran-
 „ ted to all the Malignants in the City to
 „ attend the Herse, and interre his corps.
 „ Sure I am, that if Mr. *Chillingworth* had
 „ beene as Orthodoxe and zealous a Preacher
 „ as *John* the Baptist was, he might have had

A a 4

,, as

And after having expatiated upon that matter, he adds :

„ But (2), if any man doe yet remaine unsatisfied, (2)pag 37.
 „ let him consider, that had I conceived it fitting to read 38.
 „ some service over a dead corps, yet it could not be
 „ expected in reason and equity that I should performe
 „ this last office to the body of Master *Chillingworth* :
 „ For it is well knowne, that long before these unnat-
 „ turall and bloody warres, *in the times of greatest com-*
 „ *pliance*, I never gave Mr. *Chillingworth* the right hand
 „ of fellowship, but did freely and constantly protest
 „ against those damnable heresies, which he did cun-
 „ ningly subintroduce and vent in this Kingdom, not
 „ onely whilst he was a *professed Papist*, but since his
 „ *pretended conversion*, (give me leave to call it so) you
 „ will see there is good ground for that *diminishing* term,
 „ when you come to read the Catechism anon. I am
 „ not ashamed to tell the whole *Univerfity*, the whole
 „ *Kingdome*, that I never looked upon Master *Chilling-*
 „ *worth* as my brother, in a religious respect, for we were
 „ not *men of the same Religion, or Communion* : to speak
 „ plaine, we were not members of the same Church, for
 „ (as he saith truely in his subtile booke) *they who differ*
 „ *in Fundamentall points are not members of the same*
 „ *Church one with another, any more then Protestants are*
 „ *members of the same Church with Papists.* Chap. 3.
 „ Sect. 9. pag. 131.

„ as honourable a buriall as *John* the Baptist
 „ had; for all the honour that *John* had,
 „ was to be buried by his owne Disciples,
 „ *Matth. 14. 12.* If the doctrine of this emi-
 „ nent Scholar was hereticall, and his Disci-
 „ ples were Malignants, I am not guilty of
 „ that difference. As devout *Stephen* was
 „ carried to his buriall by devout men, so
 „ is it just and equall that Malignants should
 „ carry Malignants to their grave. By Ma-
 „ lignants I meane such kinde of men who
 „ joyne with the enemy, or are willing up-
 „ on any occasion offered to joyne with him,
 „ to promote the Antichristian Designe now
 „ on foot; those, and onely those, I call
 „ Malignants.

The Reader will hardly imagine that Mr.
Cheynell should now go and meet the Ma-
 lignants (as he is pleas'd to call them) at the
 grave. But he was resolv'd to give here a
 new and uncommon instance of his zeal and
 orthodoxy. For tho' he refus'd to bury Mr.
Chillingworth's corps, he must needs bury
 his Book. This theatrical performance he
 relates in the following manner.

(c) p. 38.

39, 40.

„ When the Malignants, says he (c),
 „ brought his Herse to the buriall, I met
 „ them at the grave with Master *Chilling-*
 „ *worth's* booke in my hand; at the buriall
 „ of which booke I conceived it fit to make
 „ this little speech following.

„ A Speech

„ A Speech made at the Funerall of Mr. Chil-
 „ lingworths mortall Booke.

„ **B** Rethren, it was the earnest desire of
 „ that eminent Scholar, whose body
 „ lyes here before you, that his corps might
 „ be interred according to the Rites and
 „ customs approved in the English Liturgy,
 „ and in most places of this Kingdom here-
 „ tofore received: but his second request (in
 „ case that were denied him) was, that he
 „ might be buried in this City, after such a
 „ manner as might be obtained in these times
 „ of unhappy difference and bloody warres.
 „ His first request is denied for many rea-
 „ sons, of which you cannot be ignorant. It
 „ is too well knowne that he was once a
 „ professed Papist, and a grand seducer; he
 „ perverted divers persons of considerable
 „ ranke and quality; and I have good cause
 „ to beleeve that his returne to England,
 „ commonly called his Conversion, was but
 „ a false and pretended Conversion: And
 „ for my owne part, I am fully convinced
 „ that he did not live or dye a genuine Sonne
 „ of the Church of England; I retaine the
 „ usuall phrase, that you may know what I
 „ meane; I meane, he was not of that Faith
 „ or Religion, which is established by Law in
 „ England. Hee hath left that phantasie,
 „ which he called his Religion, upon record
 „ in

„ in this subtile booke: *He was not ashamed*
 „ to print and publish this destructive tenet,
 „ That there is no necessity of Church or
 „ Scripture to make men faithfull men, in
 „ the 100 page of this unhappy booke, and
 „ therefore I refuse to bury him my selfe;
 „ yet let his friends and followers, who have
 „ attended his *Herse to this Golgotha*, know,
 „ that they are permitted, out of meere hu-
 „ manity, to bury their dead out of our sight.
 „ If they please to undertake the buriall of
 „ his corps, I shall undertake to bury his
 „ errours, which are published in this so much
 „ admired, yet unworthy booke; and happy
 „ would it be for this Kingdome, if this
 „ booke and all its fellowes could be so bu-
 „ ried, that they might never rise more, un-
 „ lesse it were for a confutation; and happy
 „ would it have been for the Author, if he
 „ had repented of those errours, that they
 „ might never rise for his condemnation;
 „ Happy, thrice happy will he be, if his
 „ workes doe not follow him, if they doe ne-
 „ ver rise with him, nor against him.

„ Get thee gone then, thou cursed booke,
 „ which hast seduced so many precious
 „ soules; get thee gone, thou corrupt rot-
 „ ten booke, earth to earth, and dust to
 „ dust; get thee gone into the place of rot-
 „ tennesse, that thou maist rot with thy Au-
 „ thor, and see corruption. So much for
 „ the buriall of his errours.

„ Touching

„ *Touching the buriall of his corps, I need*
 „ *say no more then this, It will be most pro-*
 „ *per for the men of his perswasion to com-*
 „ *mit the body of their deceased Friend, Bro-*
 „ *ther, Master, to the dust, and it will be*
 „ *most proper for me to hearken to that coun-*
 „ *sell of my Saviour, Luk. 9. 60. Let the*
 „ *dead bury their dead, but go thou and*
 „ *preach the kingdom of God.*

„ And so I went from the grave to the
 „ Pulpit, and preached on that Text to the
 „ Congregation.

Mr. Cheynell observes that he had been
 censured, on this occasion, by two sorts of
 persons. For, some conceived that *he stu-*
died on purpose, to picke out the most
piercing Text in the Bible; a Text which
doth much reflect upon the party deceased;
 and others were of opinion he had been too
 indulgent in suffering Mr. Chillingworth to
 be buried like a Christian. He answers their
 objections (*HHH*): and then expresse, in
 his

(*HHHH*) *Mr. Cheynell answers these two objections*.
 „ Some conceive, *says he* (1), that I studied on purpose, (1) *pag. 40.*
 „ to picke out the most piercing Text in the Bible; a ^{41.}
 „ Text which doth much reflect upon the party decea-
 „ sed; but *these men erre, not knowing the Scriptures;*
 „ for had I used that Prayer at Master Chillingworths
 „ grave (which was dictated by the Spirit upon the like
 „ occasion, the fall of a great enemy of Israel, *Judges*
 „ 5. 31.) doubtlesse that Prayer would have reflected
 „ more

his usual railing, enthusiastick style, how much he was concern'd for the loss of Mr. Chillingworth, a person of such extraordinary parts and learning.

„ I dare
 „ more upon the party deceased, and all his surviving
 „ party: *So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let*
 „ *them that love thee be as the Sunne when he goes forth*
 „ *in his strength.* They would have beene more dis-
 „ pleased, had I taken that Text, which is applyed to
 „ no lesse a man then the Sonne of *Iosiah*, by the Pro-
 „ phet *Ieremiah*: *They shall not lament for him saying,*
 „ *Ah my brother, or, ah sister, — ah Lord, or ah his*
 „ *glory: He shall be buried with the buriall of an asse,*
 „ *drawne and cast forth beyond the gates of Ierusalem,*
 „ *Ierem. 22. 18, 19.* Doubtlesse that man deserves the
 „ buriall of an Asse, who beleeves his owne Reason
 „ more then the *God of truth*; he that dares not con-
 „ demne, nay, admires those for rationall men, who
 „ would reason *Christ and the Holy Ghost out of their*
 „ *Godhead, and even dispute them both out of the Trinity,*
 „ doth certainly deserve the buriall of an Asse. *Man is*
 „ *born like a wild asses colt,* as silly, wild, and coltish as
 „ the Colt of a wilde Asse; and if he prove an old
 „ Colt, and perish by his *Coltish trickes,* wonder not at
 „ the sharpe censure of the holy Ghost. You see then
 „ there are sharper Texts then this that I pitched upon
 „ for the ground of my discourse.

„ Secondly, all that understand that Text, *Luke 9.*
 „ *60.* will acknowledge, that the Text did reflect rather
 „ upon the living, then the dead. But why then was
 „ he buried at all? I have told you already, his follow-
 „ ers were permitted to bury him out of *meere Huma-*
 „ *nity.* I pleaded for his buriall from that great exam-
 „ ple

„ I dare boldly say, *says he* (d), that I (d) P. 41,
 „ have beene more sorrowfull for Mr. Chil- 42.
 „ *lingworth*, and mercifull to him, then his
 „ friends at *Oxford*: his sicknesse and ob-
 „ stinacy cost me many a prayer, and ma-
 „ ny a teare. I did heartily bewaile the losse
 „ of such strong parts, and eminent gifts;
 „ the losse of so much learning and diligence.
 „ Never did I observe more acutenesse and
 „ eloquence so exactly tempered in the same
 „ person: *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat*;
 „ for he had eloquence enough to set a faire
 „ varnish upon the foulest designe. He was
 „ master of his learning, he had all his ar-
 „ guments *in procinctu*, and all his notions
 „ *in numerato*. *Howle ye firre trees, for a*
 „ *Cedar is fallen*: lament ye *Sophisters*, for
 „ the Master of sentences (shall I say) or
 „ fallacies is vanished: wring your hands,
 „ and beat your breasts, yee *Antichristian*
 „ *Engineers*, for your Arch-engineer is dead,
 „ and

„ ple recorded at length by the holy Ghost, 2 Sam. 1.
 „ from the eleventh verse to the end of the chapter.
 „ *Saul* you know was forsaken of God long before his
 „ death; *the Spirit of the Lord*, (the excellent gifts and
 „ common graces of the Spirit in particular) the spirit
 „ of government departed from him: Moreover, he
 „ consulted a witch, and by her the *Devill at Endor*,
 „ and an evill spirit from the Lord took possession of
 „ him; yet *Saul* was solemnly buried, bewailed, nay
 „ extolled by *David* for those things which were love-
 „ ly in him, as you may read in the place forecited, 17,
 „ 21, 24. verses.

THE LIFE OF

„ and all his Engines buried with him. Ye
 „ daughters of *Oxford* weep over *Chilling-*
 „ *worth*, for he had a considerable and hope-
 „ full project how to clothe you and him-
 „ selfe in scarlet, *and other delights*. *I am*
 „ *distressed for thee, my brother Chilling-*
 „ *worth* (may his Executrix say) *very plea-*
 „ *sant hast thou beene unto me, thy love to*
 „ *me was wonderfull, passing the love of*
 „ father, husband, brother. *O how are the*
 „ *mighty fallen, and the weapons, nay en-*
 „ *gines of warre perished!* *O tell it not in*
 „ *Gath*, that he who raised a battery against
 „ the Popes chaire, that he might *place Rea-*
 „ *son in the chaire in stead of Antichrist*, is
 „ dead and gone: *publish it not in the*
 „ *streets of Askelon*, that he who did at once
 „ batter *Rome*, and undermine *England*, the
 „ Reforming Church of *England*, that he
 „ might prevent a Reformation, is dead;
 „ lest if you publish it, you puzzle all the
 „ Conclave, and put them to consider, whe-
 „ ther they should mourne or triumph.

Next to this raving flight, follows an account of Mr. Chillingworth's *Tombe-stone*; and a small Tract intituled, *A prophane Catechisme, collected out of Mr. Chillingworth's Works*; which is all of a piece with the foregoing *Relation of Mr. Chillingworths Death and Burial* (III).

Thus,

(III) Next to this raving flight, follows an account of
 Mr.

Thus, that incomparable Man, who was an example of Virtue, Piety, and Moderation,

Mr. Chillingworth's Tombe-stone, and a small Tract intituled: A prophane Catechisme &c]. 1. I shall first set down what he says concerning Mr. Chillingworth's Tombe-stone :

„ If any man enquire, *says he* (1), whether he hath a Tombe-stone, as well as an *Elegy*, let him know that (1) pag. we plundered an old Friar of his Tombe-stone, and 42. there is roome enough for an *Epitaph* if they please to send one from *Oxford*; if not, give us leave to say, we have provided a *Sepulchre*, and it is your fault if you doe not provide a *Monument* : for as *Laurentius Valla* the master of Elegances observes, a (2) I have a Pamphlet printed in 1643, with this title: *The Rebels Catechisme: composed in an easy and familiar way; to let them see, the Hainousnesse of their Offence, the weaknesse of their strongest Subterfuges; and to recall them to their duties, both to God and Man: in 4^o pagg.* Monument is nothing else but a speaking Sepulchre: *Vixque Monumentum dixerim, nisi literæ aut alii tituli appareant, quæ si desint, magis sepulchram quam monumentum erit.* Laur. Vall. *Elegant. lib. 4. cap. 75.* Then he adds by way of introduction to his *Catechism*: „ If there be any man yet unsatisfied, that this great Philosopher, Mathematician, Oratour (and any thing but what he pretended to be, a *Divine*) hath had no more honour at his death, then a *plaine Tombe-stone*, and such a *song of lamentation* as was taken up for *Saul*, let him read this following *Catechisme*; and if he be either Papist, or Protestant, he will be satisfied, if he be true to his owne principles.

2. Mr. Cheynell's *prophane Catechisme* (2), collected out of Mr. Chillingworth's Works, is a collection of some passages extracted out of Mr. Chillingworth's Book against Mr. Knott, which serve for an *Answer* to the *Questions* he is pleas'd to frame; with his animadversions upon those passages or answers. But he, either misrepresents the intent and meaning of Mr. Chillingworth;

tion; and will ever be a model of clear, strong, and fair Reasoning, and that in the Protestant

or censures what is above all exception, tho' not agreeable to his own notions and conceits: and all this, in the same abusive railing style which is usual to him. But the Reader will better be able to judge of it, by the following specimen.

- (3) p. 51. „ Qu. *But what if the Church erre (3) ?*
 „ Anf. *Then a man may learne of that self same Church*
 „ *(which taught him) to confute the errours of that*
 „ *Church: that is, I may learne to confute the erroneous*
 „ *conclusions of that Church, by those very rules and*
 „ *principles which that Church teaches, Chap. 3. sect.*
 „ 40. p. 150. First then, a *private* man is presumed to
 „ have more *Logicke* than that *teaching* Church. Se-
 „ condly, the Prelates (who call themselves the Church)
 „ may give my brethren of the Assembly leave to con-
 „ fute their erroneous conclusions, by some rules and
 „ principles which they themselves have delivered.
 „ Thirdly, a man may learne of the Church how to
 „ teach the Church. Principles which lead to these harsh
 „ truths, being licensed at *Oxford*, are an argument to me
 „ that they approved this booke before they read it.
 „ Qu. *What is the best way to bring Papists and Pro-*
 „ *testants into one communion (4) ?*
 „ (4) p. 59. „ Anf. *The framing and proposing of a Liturgy, which*
 „ *both sides hold lawfull. p. 132.* This was perchance
 „ the great stratagem aimed at in the framing of that
 „ Liturgy which was sent into *Scotland*; and this is a
 „ point which deserves the consideration of the preten-
 „ ded Parliament or Assembly at *Oxford*.
 „ (5) pag. 61. „ Qu. *What are the causes of error (5) ?*
 „ Anf. *Negligence in seeking truth, unwillingnesse to*
 „ *find it, pride, obstinacy, a politique desire that that*

Protestant Cause; had the hard fate to be haraſs'd by Protestants as well as Papists, and
to

„ *Religion should be true, which ſutes beſt with my ends,*
 „ *ſeare of mens ill opinion, or any other worldly ſeare or*
 „ *worldly hope, theſe ſeven betray men to, and keepe men*
 „ *in damnable errorrs,* p. 158 (6). It is one of the moſt (6) Chap.
 „ honeſt paſſages in his book. Brethren let us beware 3. §. 52.
 „ of theſe motives.

„ Qu. *What kind of man was Knot?*

„ Anſ. *One that went about to delude his King, and*
 „ *Countrey with ſtrange captions; Sure Mr. Chilling-*
 „ *worth and hee were both of a make,* read 117 (7). (7) Chap.

„ Qu. *What weapons of warfare may be juſtly called* 2. §. 161.
 „ *carnall* (8)? (8) p. 62.

„ Anſ. *Maſſacres, Treasons, Persecutions, and in a*
 „ *word all meanes either violent or fraudulent.* p. 52 (9). (9) Chap.
 „ God grant that the *Iriſh* forces which land daily, doe 2. §. 1.
 „ not make us as well acquainted with this warfare in
 „ *England,* as they are in *Ireland.*

„ Qu. *If I diſapprove the judgement of any Court, am*
 „ *I bound to conceale my owne judgement?*

„ Anſ. No, *I may lawfully profeſſe my judgement, and*
 „ *repreſent my reaſons to the King or Common-wealth in*
 „ *a Parliament, as Sir Thomas Moore did without com-*
 „ *mitting any fault,* p. 97 (10). Why then are men ſo (10) Chap.
 „ much blam'd for profeſſing their judgement againſt 2. §. 117.
 „ ſome things which ſeeme to be eſtabliſhed by Law,
 „ and repreſenting their reaſons to the Parliament? and
 „ why did not Maſter *Chillingworth* yeeld externall obe-
 „ dience to the Common-wealth of *England* in this Par-
 „ liament? for who can deny that the Common-wealth
 „ of *England* is aſſembled in this Parliament?

He concludes thus: „ Now Reader, ſays he (11), (11) p. 634
 „ judge Maſter *Chillingworths* workes, my proceedings,

to ly under the odious charge of *Socinianism*: an imputation, which seems to have been

„ and this Treatise according to the evidence given : and
 „ thinke an implicate faith in thine owne reason almost as
 „ bad as implicate faith in the Church or Pope of *Rome*.

And now the Reader sees to what degree of distraction and madness, even men of parts and learning, may be carried, by an intemperate furious zeal for their opinions and prejudices. And, I fear, this excess is but too common among Christians. There are more CHEYNELLS in the world, than people imagine : and if they shew themselves but seldom, it is only for want of encouragement, or of a proper opportunity.

I shall close this account of Mr. Cheynell's Pamphlet with the judgment of Mr. Locke upon it. *I long'd to hear*

(12) Anthony Collins Esq; That Letter is dated the 10th September 1703. *you were well, says he in a Letter to one of his Friends (12), that you were return'd, and that I might have opportunity to acknowledge my great obligations to you, for one of the most villanous books, that, I think, was ever printed. It is a present that I highly value. I had heard something of it, when a young man in the university; but possibly should never have seen this quintessence of railing,*

(13) A Collection of several Pieces of Mr. John Locke, never before printed, or not extant in his Works, pag. 262, 263. *but for your kindness. It ought to be kept as the pattern and standard of that sort of writing, as the man he spends it upon, for that of good temper, and clear, and strong arguing (13).*

Mr. Locke had a high value for Mr. Chillingworth ; and he recommends the reading of his Book, in several of his Pieces. In a small Tract, containing *some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*, after having observ'd that the Art of Speaking well, consists chiefly in two things, viz. Perspicuity, and right Reasoning (14); and propos'd Dr. TILLOTSON as a pattern for the attainment of the Art of Speaking clearly, he

(14) *Ibid.*
 P. 234.

been the lot of Men distinguish'd by the excellency of their parts (KKK); and more

B b 2

parti-

adds: Besides Perspicuity (15), there must be also right (15) *Ibid.* Reasoning; without which perspicuity serves but to expose the speaker. And for attaining of this, I should propose the constant reading of CHILLINGWORTH, who by his example will teach both Perspicuity, and the way of right Reasoning, better than any book that I know: and therefore will deserve to be read upon that account over and over again; not to say any thing of his argument. P. 235.

(KKK) The imputation of Socinianism seems to have been the lot of Men distinguish'd by the excellency of their parts]. It would be an easy matter to give a long catalogue of eminent persons, both Divines and Lay-men, who have been unjustly charged with Socinianism: but it will be sufficient, for my present purpose, to transcribe here a passage of the famous Mr. le Clerc, whose lot hath been to fall under the same invidious imputation.

Si quis ingenio aliquo polleat, says he (1), *eruditioneque vulgus superet, nec vulgaria scribat, illico est Socinianus; quasi sapere nemo posset, nisi in Socini castra se conserret. Insigne idemque nuperum ejus rei exemplum est optimus atque acutissimus vir Joannes Lockius, qui quia adcuratius de multis philosophatur, quam hactenus ab ullo factum est, in eximio libro de Intellectu Humano, continuo tamquam Socinianus infamatur à Censore & aliis. Hoc demum est verè favere Socinianis, eximia omnia ingenia eorum numero adscribere. Paria olim in Hug. Grotium, paria in Ren. Cartesium sunt jactata; quæ illis quidem viris dedecori non fuerunt, sed honori Socinianis. Similiter antea & Des. Erasmus Arianismi est ab illius ævi Monachis, aliisque non melioribus insimulatus; quasi nimio fuisset ingenio, quàm ut Orthodoxus esse posset.* (1) *Epistole Criticæ & Ecclesiasticæ &c. sive Artis Criticæ Vol. III. Epist. X. p. m. 272, 273.*

particularly, of those who have endeavour'd to free Religion from Enthusiasm and Fanaticism, and to establish it upon its true rational grounds and foundations. „ I know not how

(e) *Sermons on various Subjects:* published by Dr. Ralph Barker. Vol. XII. Sermon VI; on Heb. XI. 6. intitled, *The Efficacy, Usefulness, and Reasonableness of Divine Faith*: pag. 167, 168.

„ it comes to pass, *says that eminent Prelate Arch-bishop Tillotson* (e), whether through the artifice of the Popish party, who *hate the light, lest it should reprove them, and make them manifest*; or thro' the Ignorance of too many well-meaning Protestants; I say, I know not how it comes to pass, but so it is, that every one that offers to give a reasonable account of his Faith, and to establish Religion upon rational Principles, is presently branded for a *Socinian*; of which we have a sad Instance in that incomparable Person Mr. *Chillingworth*, the glory of this Age and Nation, who for no other cause that I know of, but his worthy and successful attempts to make Christian Religion reasonable, and to discover those firm and solid foundations upon which our Faith is built, hath been requited with this black and odious Character. But if this be *Socinianism*, for a Man to enquire into the Grounds and Reasons of Christian Religion, and to endeavour to give a satisfactory account why he believes it, I know no way but that all considerate inquisitive men, that are above Fancy and Enthusiasm, must be either *Socinians* or *Atheists*.

T H E E N D.



I N D E X.

A



Legambe (Philip) one of the continuators of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, 233. mistaken, *ibid.*

Arianism, a name of Schism, not a Heresy, 59, 60. What judgment may be made of it from the sense of Antiquity, 55, 56. Whether it excludes men from Salvation, 57. the judgment of some great Divines thereupon, 57 & *seqq.*

Articles of the Church of England, an historical account of them, 61 & *seqq.* Whether a Subscription to all the Articles is required by the Act of Parliament which ratify'd them, 64 & *seqq.* how enjoin'd by the Canons, 75 & *seqq.* Whether they are to be subscrib'd as Articles of belief and assent, or only Articles of peace and union, 88 & *seqq.*

Arundel-Castle, taken by the Lord Hopton, 313. retaken by Sir William Waller, 314.

Athanasian Creed. See *Creed.*

Authority in matters of religion, hath an equal right every where, 22. the consequences of submitting to it, 22, 23 & *seqq.*

I N D E X.

B

- Baker (Samuel)* 222.
- Bamford*, alias *Bamfield* (.) an Irish Officer, his Character, 313.
- Bancroft (Richard)* Bishop of London, his Canon enjoining a Subscription to the thirty nine Articles, 76, 77.
- Barlow (Thomas)* Bishop of Lincoln, his judgment of Mr. Chillingworth's peculiar excellency above other Writers, 46 & *seqq.* Some observations upon it, 48, 49. cited, 282.
- Barwick (John)* cited, 307.
- Baxter (Richard)* his judgment of such Divines as blame the use of Reason in matters of Religion, 257.
- Bayle (Peter)* cited 22, 121.
- Baylie (Richard)* Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, one of the Censors of Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to Knott, 138. his Approbation prefix'd before it, 142.
- Beal (Robert)* Clerk of the Council to Queen Elizabeth, cited, 66.
- Believing, to force any honest man to believe, or profess what he does not believe, all the powers of the world are too weak, with all the powers of hell to assist them, 203.
- Bellarmino (Robert)* misrepresents the opinion of the ancient Fathers concerning Arianism, 53.
- Bennet (Thomas)* answer'd by a late Author, 65, 66. mistakes Mr. Chillingworth's sense of the Subscription to the thirty nine Articles, 157 & *seqq.* cited, 62, 95.
- Bible, the Bible only is the Religion of Protestants, 192 & *seqq.* See *Scripture.*
- Books, a Provision made against their being sold too dear, 227, 228. such a Provision necessary against the incorrectness of the press, 228.
- Bramhall (John)* his sense of the Subscription to the thirty nine Articles, 90 & *seqq.*
- Buckingham* (the Countess of) perverted to the Church of Rome by Fisher, 5, 6.

I N D E X.

Buckingham (George Villiers Duke of) is settled in the communion of the Church of England by Bishop Laud, 6. is murder'd, 300.

Burnet (Gilbert) Bishop of Salisbury, cited; 88, 89.

C

CANONS made in 1603, enjoyn a Subscription to all the Articles of Religion, 76, 77. Canons of 1640 censur'd by the Parliament, 269 & *seqq.*

Cave (William) his account of the Athanasian Creed, 79.

Charles I. his orders against the Papists not executed, and why, 4. his pious concern for Mr. Chillingworth, 142. rewards him for his Book against Knott, 265. makes the Parliament an independent body, 273. appoints a monthly general Fast, 283. changes the time of it, and why, 283, 284. the injustice done him by the Parliament, 285 & *seqq.* the immorality and irreligion of his Troops, 287 & *seqq.* 331.

Cheyne (Francis) his character, 274, 314. his *Rise, growth, and danger of Socinianism*, 275. his invectives against several eminent Divines of the Church of England in that Pamphlet, *ibid.* against Mr. Chillingworth, 275 & *seqq.* his *Relation* of Mr. Chillingworth's *sickness, death and buriall*, 315 & *seqq.* a character of that Pamphlet, 315, 370. he dedicates it to Mr. Chillingworth's friends, 316, & *seqq.* his Apology for writing against a person that was dead, 320, 321. meets with Mr. Chillingworth at Arundel-Castle, 321, 322. procures him the favour of being convey'd to Chichester, 322. vindicates him from the aspersions of the Officers, 327 & *seqq.* teazes him with impertinent questions and disputes, 329 & *seqq.* procures him all the assistance and relief possible, 342, 343. refuses to bury him, and why, 357 & *seqq.* buryes his Book, 360. his Speech on that occasion, 361. his concern for the death of Mr. Chillingworth, 364. his raving flight thereupon, 365, 366. his account of Mr. Chillingworth's Tombe-stone, 367. *his prophane Catechisme collected*

I N D E X.

out of Mr. Chillingworth's Works, 367 & *seqq.* cited, 146.
Chillingworth (.) a Member of Parliament, sent
 to the Tower, and why, 302.
Chillingworth (*William*) Mayor of Oxford, 1.
Chillingworth (*Mary*) 337, 348.
Chillingworth (*William*) his birth, education, and studies, 1, 2. is drawn over to the Church of Rome, 7 & *seqq.* his Letter to Mr. Sheldon thereupon, 7, 8. goes to the College of the Jesuits at Doway, 9. writes the Motives of his Conversion, *ibid.* his reasons for leaving the Jesuits misrepresented, 12. retires to Oxford, 13. his free and impartial enquiry into religion, 14, 28. returns to the Church of England, 16. hath some scruples about it, 18. how he considered his Changes of Religion, 26, 27. his Dispute with Lewgar, 30 & *seqq.* writes several Pieces against Popery, 38 & *seqq.* undertakes to vindicate the Protestant Religion against Knott, 45, 146, 147. What he understands by the Religion of Protestants, 192. frequently resorts to the Lord Falkland's, 45, 46. his Letter to a friend concerning Arianism, 49 & *seqq.* whether he was an Arian, 56, 57. his Scruples against the Subscription to the Articles enjoyn'd by the Canons, 78 & *seqq.* his Letter to Dr. Sheldon thereupon, 86 & *seqq.* did overcome those Scruples, 96, 168. thinks it sufficient to answer the first Part of Knott's Book, 98, 140, 147, 185 & *seqq.* how he came prepared to read that Work, and the effect of it, 144 & *seqq.* his advances to Knott for a Conference before the publishing of his Answer, 132, 133, 149. charged with several Heresies by Knott in a Pamphlet call'd *A Direction*, &c. 123 & *seqq.* his Answer to Knott submitted to the Censure of three eminent Divines, 138. passes a fiery trial, 143 & *seqq.* dedicates his Answer to the King, 142. In the Preface he vindicates himself against Knott's aspersions and calumnies, 149 & *seqq.* answers the Motives he wrote when he embraced the Romish Religion, 165 & *seqq.* expresses his readiness to subscribe the thirty nine Articles, 156, 157. declares what he conceives to be the intent of such Subscription, 157. whether he subscrib'd in that sense, 162 & *seqq.* his Answer to Knott receiv'd with great Applause, 220. the several editions

I N D E X.

sons of it, 221 & *seqq.* some Pamphlets written against it. See *Knott, Lacy* and *Floyd.* rewarded with the Chancellorship of Sarum, 265, complies with the usual Subscription to the Articles, 265 & *seqq.* is deputed to the Convocation, 267, 271. put into the Roll by the King to be created Doctor of Divinity, 273. invents some Engines to facilitate the taking of Gloucester, 280. his Loyalty to the King, 282, 283 & *seqq.* 301, 302. suffer'd for it, *ibid.* his Fast Sermon preach'd before his Majesty, 283, & *seqq.* his other Sermons 291 & *seqq.* writes against the Scots, 298. his apology for doing so, 300 & *seqq.* is chosen Philosopher Reader in his Colledge, 302, 303. his zeal for the Church of England, 304. writes a small Tract for Episcopacy, 304 & *seqq.* the several editions of it, 307 & *seqq.* goes to Arundel Castle, and on what occasion, 314, 325. falls sick there, 314. is taken prisoner, *ibid.* meets with Cheynell, *ibid.* is conducted to Chichester, 314, 323. is treated with a due regard to his merit and present condition, 323, 348 & *seqq.* is teaz'd with impertinent questions and disputes, 329 & *seqq.* grows worse, 342. is entreated to declare himself in point of Religion, 343. his answer 344. his desires concerning his interment, *ibid.* dyes, 345. the Day of his Death not certainly known, 345, 346. several opinions of the Parliamentarians concerning his burial, 353 & *seqq.* his funeral, 352, 353. is buried by the Royal Party in the Cloysters, 356. his last Will and Testament, 347, 348. some account of his Codicil, 349. his Elogium by Mr. Locke, 370, 371. by Dr. Tillotson, 372. his sincere, disinterested and constant love of truth, 17, 27 & *seqq.* his candor, moderation and good-nature, 29 & *seqq.* incapable of any prevarication, he prefer'd the satisfaction of his conscience before all worldly advantages, 78, 84 & *seqq.* 152 & *seqq.* his Principles of Religion, 151, 152, 194 & *seqq.* his Principles of submission to Princes, 219, 299, 285, 286. charged with introducing two novelties among Protestants, 166, 194 & *seqq.* charged with Socinianism, by Knott, 106, 123 & *alibi passim;* by Cheynell, 275, 276, 319. Dr. Tillotson's observation upon it, 372. clears himself from that imputation, 150, 151. charged with proceeding in a destructive way by Lewgar, 176, by Knott,

I N D E X.

- 127, 177. by Cheynell, 276. by Cressy, 180. by Dr. Hare, 183, 198. vindicated from that charge, 175 & *seqq.* 181, 182, 198, 199. wherein his peculiar excellency above other Writers consisted, 46 & *seqq.*
- Christians, their Principles very different from the doctrine of Jesus Christ, 297. that vile barbarous practice of Duelling is peculiar to them, *ibid.* how they might be brought to truth and unity, 207, 215.
- Church of Rome, by what means it hath got and maintains its Authority over mens consciences, 254. its pretended infallibility disproved, 18 & *seqq.* 34, 35, 39. its Doctors undermine the Doctrine of the Trinity, 52 & *seqq.* 60 & *seqq.* slight the Authority of the Fathers, 122.
- Clarendon (*Edward Hyde* Earl of) defends Mr. Chillingworth against Cressy, 15, 115. vindicates Daillé's *Treatise of the right Use of the Fathers*, 118 & *seqq.* his judgment on the proceedings of the Convocation in 1640, 271. on the Act for perpetuating the Parliament, 273. on the Loyalty of the Parliament of 1641, 304. his account of the royal garrison of Arundel Castle, 313. some mistakes of his, 16, 349, 350. cited, 273.
- Clerc (*John le*) cited, 118, 371.
- Collier (*Jeremy*) mistaken, 65.
- Collins (*Anthony*) 66, 67, 370.
- Collyridians, condemned as Hereticks by the ancient Church of Rome, for offering a Cake to the Virgin Mary, 39.
- Controversy, there ought to be no more bitterness in a Treatise of Controversy than in a Love-Letter, 257.
- Controversies, a visible Judge necessary to determine civil controversies, but not controversies of Religion, 200 & *seqq.*
- Convocation of 1640, their proceedings censur'd by the Parliament, 270.
- Corbet (*John*) his account of the engines of war invented by Mr. Chillingworth, 281, 282.
- Coventry (.....) his character, 50.
- Coventry (*Sir Thomas*) Lord Keeper, a benefactor to Mr. Chillingworth, 58, 59, 97.
- Councils,

I N D E X.

Councils, contradict one another, 194.
 Counsels, Evangelical Counsels, publickly taught by
 some eminent Divines of the Church of England,
 105, 106.
 Creed (the) commonly call'd *Athanasius's Creed*, an
 account of it, 78 & *seqq.*
Cressy (Hugh-Paulin de, alias Serenus) Dean of Lagh-
 lin in Ireland, embraces the Romish Religion, 164,
 165. publishes the Motives of his Conversion, 165.
 acknowledges the obligations he had to cherish the
 memory of Mr. Chillingworth, *ibid.* some of his
 mistakes, 14, 15, 114 & *seqq.* charges Mr. Chil-
 lingworth with introducing two Novelties among
 the Protestants, 166, 194. confuted, 196 & *seqq.*

D

D*Aillé (John)* with what applause his Treatise of
the right Use of the Fathers was receiv'd in Eng-
 land, 116, 117. that work vindicated against some
 late Divines, 118 & *seqq.* whether it perswaded
 Mr. Chillingworth to have a light esteem of the Fa-
 thers, 14 & *seqq.* 114 & *seqq.* his *Apology for the*
Reformed Churches translated by Mr. Smith, 244.
Des Cartes (René) charged with Socinianism, 371.
D' Ewes (Sir Simon) his omissions and inaccuracies,
 67 & *seqq.* cited, 63, 64.
Digby (George Lord) 40. cited, 42, 117.
Digby (Sir Kenelm) 40, 42.
Diggs (Dudley) 56, 347.
 Divinity, School Divinity, its excellency according to
 Knott, 109, 110. Mr. Chillingworth's judgment
 upon it, 149, 150.
 Duelling, a pathetick exhortation of Mr. Chilling-
 worth against that vile, barbarous, un-christian prac-
 tice, 293 & *seqq.*
Duppa (Brian) made Bishop of Chichester, 265.

E

E*Chard (Laurence)* his disingenuous representation
 of the sense of the Parliament of 1660, 306, 307.
Edmonds (Anthony) his testimony concerning Mr.
 Chillingworth, 344. *Edward*

I N D E X.

- Edward VI.* his *Injunctions* cited, 84. Protestantism seem'd to be at an end in England by his death, 62.
- Elisabeth*, Queen Elisabeth stops, in the House of Lords, the passing of the Bill, ratifying the Articles of Religion, 63. was unwilling that the Parliament should meddle with the said Articles, 73. her *Injunctions* cited, 84.
- Episcopacy defended by Dr. Morton, 305 & *seqq.* by Archbishop Usher, 307. by Mr. Chillingworth, *ibid.* attack'd by Mr. Lauder, 308 & *seqq.*
- Erasmus (Desiderius)* charg'd with Arianism, 371.
- Errours in matters of Religion, which are damnable, and which are not, 207 & *seqq.*
- Essex (Robert d' Eureux Earl of)* relieves the city of Gloucester besieged by the King's forces, 282.
- Evangelical Counsels, See *Counsels*.
- Eusebius*, was an Arian, 60, 61.

F

- F***Alkland (Lucius Cary Viscount)* his intimacy with Mr. Chillingworth, 3. had read over all the Greek and Latin Fathers, 115. his great esteem for Daillé, and for his *Treatise of the right Use of the Fathers*, 116, 117. is kill'd in the Battle of Newbury, 116.
- Fathers of the Church, the judgment of some Popish Writers upon them, 54, 55. contradict one another, 194, 195. those who liv'd before the Council of Nice, said to be Arians, 51 & *seqq.*
- Fell (Samuel)* one of the Censors of Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to Knott, 138. his Approbation prefix'd to it, 142.
- Fisher (John)* a Jesuit, his true name, 5. an account of him, 5, 6. perverts Mr. Chillingworth to the Popish Religion, 6, 7. his opinion concerning the Writings of the Fathers, 54, 55.
- Floyd (John)* a Jesuit, an account of him, 234. his *Church conquérant over human Wit*, &c. 232 & *seqq.* his panegyrick upon one of Knott's Pamphlets, 235. his *Totall Summe*, &c. 237 & *seqq.*
- Ford (Sir Edward)* Governor of Arundel Castle, his Character, 313.

Frome

I N D E X.

Frome (George) his account of the Subscription Book of the Church of Salisbury, 266.
Fuller (Thomas) cited, 11, 74, 148. mistaken, 12.

G

GLocester besieged by the King's forces, 278 & *seqq.*
 the Siege rais'd, 282.
 God, what God requires of men in point of Religion, 198, 206 & *seqq.* 213, 214.
Golledge (.....) an Officer, order'd to take charge of Mr. Chillingworth, 323. performs the part of a real friend towards him, 336.
 Gospel, every one of the Gospels contains the whole substance of the Christian religion, 208 & *seqq.*
Grafcome (Samuel) mistaken, 36, 37.
Grotius (Hugo) charg'd with Socinianism, 371.

H

HAles (John) his intimacy with Mr. Chillingworth, 3. his Judgment of Arianism, 59, 60.
Hare (Francis) cited, 49. charges Mr. Chillingworth with proceeding in a destructive way, 198. answered 198, 199.
Hearne (Thomas) his judgment upon the second edition of Mr. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 236.
 Heresy, the only means to suppress it, and restore unity, 174
 Heretick, all those were not Hereticks, which by Philastrius, Epiphanius, or St. Austin were put into the Catalogue of Hereticks, 171.
Heylyn (Peter) approves of a curious passage of Knott, 113. his *History of the Sabbath*, 85.
Hickes (George) mistaken, 37, 38.
Hilary, his account of an Arian Council, and of an Orthodox one, 51, 52.
Hoadley (Benjamin) Lord Bishop of Bangor, now Bishop of Salisbury, some mistakes of his relating to Mr. Chillingworth, 268 & *seqq.* his Character of Cheynell, 314, 315.
Hooker (Richard) his judgment of Arianism, 57.
Hopton (the Lord) takes Arundel Castle for the King, 313. his ill conduct, 327 & *seqq.*
Hyde (Edward Earl of Clarendon). See *Clarendon*.
Jesuits,

I N D E X

I

- J**esuits, their character, 255. the Account they have published of their own Writers very defective, 233.
- Impositions, human Impositions upon Mens consciences, the fountain of all the Schisms in the Church 214, 215.
- Infallibility of the Church of Rome. See *Church*.
- Infants, admitted to the Eucharist by the ancient Church of Rome, 39.
- Inquiry, whether it produces Inconstancy in Religion, 18 & *seqq.* the only safe and rational way to find out truth, 21, 22.
- Jones (Walter)* 336.
- Irenæus* said those things, which he that should now hold would be esteem'd an Arian, 52, 53, 61.
- Justin* Martyr, accounted an Arian, 62.

K

- K**ennet (*White*) Lord Bishop of Peterborough, some Letters of Mr. Chillingworth, which he hath been pleased to communicate; 7, 86, 99, 300. cited 272.
- King (Robert)* an Officer, his Letter to Mr. Jones, concerning Mr. Chillingworth, 336.
- Knott (Edward)* his true name, 43, 44. an account of him, 44. and of some of his Writings, 232. his *Charity mistaken*, &c, 44. answered by Dr. Potter, 44, 45. his Reply call'd *Charity maintain'd* &c, 45. Mr. Chillingworth undertakes to answer it, *ibid.* declines a Conference with Mr. Chillingworth, 132, 133. endeavours to deter him from publishing his Answer, 134, 135. publishes a Pamphlet call'd *A Direction* &c. to blacken Mr. Chillingworth, and prejudice the publick against his Answer, 105, 106. an extract of that Libel, 106, & *seqq.* is lurking about Oxford, 138. finds means to have the Sheets of Mr. Chillingworth's Answer from the press, as they

I N D E X.

they are done, 139. tries once more to prejudice the Publick against Mr. Chillingworth's Answer, in a Pamphlet entitled, *Christianity maintained*, &c. 221, 222. some account of it, 226 & *seqq.* promises a larger work in answer to Mr. Chillingworth, 224. which comes out with the title of *Infidelity unmasked*, &c. 250, 251. some account of that Book, 251 & *seqq.* censures Mr. Chillingworth for excesses he is himself the most guilty of, 253 & *seqq.* with what pride and haughtiness he treats Mr. Chillingworth, 256. his Fanaticism, 257, 258. his Sophistry, 259 & *seqq.* his objection, that according to Mr. Chillingworth's principles a man can be constant in no Religion, answer'd, 18 & *seqq.* his account of the alterations made in Mr. Chillingworth's Book by the Censors, 146. his ridiculous objection against the Learning of the Divines of the Church of England, 149, 150.

L

L *Acy (William)* a Jesuit, an account of him, 240 & *seqq.* his *Judgment of an University-man*, &c. 241. a character of that Pamphlet, 241, 242. some account of it, 242 & *seqq.* commended by Knott, 249. Mr. Smith's judgment of it, 249, 250. his *Heautomachia*, &c. 248, 249.

Laud (William) Mr. Chillingworth's godfather, 1, 2. his Letters to Mr. Chillingworth brought him back from Doway, 11, 12. they are suppos'd to be lost, 12, 13. his concern about Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to Knott, 137 & *seqq.* orders it to be examin'd before it be sent to the press, 137. his directions upon Mr. Chillingworth's reasons for not meddling with the second part of Knott's Book, 140. thinks it proper to confer some preferment upon Mr. Chillingworth, 265. procures him the Chancellorship of Sarum, *ibid.* his sense of the Subscription to the thirty nine Articles, 89, 90.

Lauder (Alexander) his Book concerning Episcopacy against Mr. Chillingworth, 308 & *seqq.* and against Mr. Sage, 310.

I N D E X.

- Le Neve (John)* mistaken, 345, 346. cited, 265.
Lenthall (.....) a Member of Parliament reprimanded by order of the House of Commons, 304 & *seqq.*
Lewgar (John) a great Zealot for Popery, 30 & *seqq.* asperges Mr. Chillingworth, *ibid.*
Locke (John) his judgment of Mr. Cheynell's Pamphlet concerning Mr. Chillingworth, 370. his great esteem for Mr. Chillingworth, 370, 371. is fallen under the invidious imputation of Socinianism, 371.
Luke, his Gospel contains the whole Substance of the Christian Religion, 210 & *seqq.*
Luther (Martin) whether his separation from the Church of Rome was schismatical, 167 & *seqq.* his conference with the Devil, 172, 173.

M

- M***Assy* (Colonel) Governor of Gloucester, 279, 281.
Marvel (Andrew) his Character of Popery, 255, 256.
 Millenaries, their doctrine taught by the ancient Church of Rome, 39.
 Mission, the Mission of the first Reformers justified, 172.
Montaigne (Michael de) what he requires in a Physician, 159.
Montfaucon (Bernard de) his account of the Athanasian Creed, 80.
Morton (Thomas) his Tract concerning Episcopacy, 305, & *seqq.*
Moulin (Lewis du) his esteem for Dr. Pearson, 121. his Character of Scrivener, and of his Book against Daillé, 121, 122.
Mountagu (Richard) his opinion concerning Evangelical Counsels, 105, 106.

N

- N***Alson (John)* misrepresents the Parliament of 1641, 303, 304. cited, 268, 269, 270,

I N D E X.

Needham (William) 226.

Non-conformity, when and where first set up, 74, 75.

Norton (.....) a member of Parliament, his character, 68, 71.

O

Opinions, what opinions ought not to be tolerated, 218, 219. Whether Christians may be reduc'd to Unity of Communion by taking away diversity of opinions, 206, 207.

Origen, deny'd the divinity of the Son and of the holy Ghost, 61.

P.

Papists, their bloody persecuting spirit, 219, 220. countenanced in King James I. and King Charles I. reign, 3, 4. why they are so obstinate in their common superstition, or private opinions, 25.

Parker (Matthew) Archbishop of Canterbury, his conversation with Mr. Wentworth concerning the Articles of Religion, 72.

Parliament, their proceedings concerning the Bill ratifying the Articles of the Church of England, 63 & *seqq.* were for a farther Reformation, 64, 65. their representations to King Charles I. against the Papists, 4. the sense of the House of Commons in 1660, concerning their taking arms against the King in 1641, 304 & *seqq.*

Parliamentarians, their character, 285 & *seqq.* the piety of their Officers and Soldiers, 331.

Patrick (John) his contracted edition of Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to Knott, 223 & *seqq.*

Peake (.....) his questions to Mr. Chillingworth, 43, 299.

Perron (Cardinal du) his judgment of the primitive Fathers with relation to Arianism, 52, 53, 60, 61. his great parts, 117.

Perse or *Percey* (John). See *Fisher*.

I N D E X.

- Persecution, if lawful in one place, is lawful in every place, 216, 217. fit for nothing but to breed form without and Atheism within, 216. Men in power ought to oppose it, 217, 218.
- Petavius (Dionysius)* his judgment of the ante-nicene Fathers with respect to Arianism, 52, 62.
- Poole (Matthew)* vindicates Mr. Chillingworth from proceeding in a destructive way, 181 & seqq.
- Popery, a description of it, 255, 256. See *Church*.
- Potter (Christopher)* his Answer to Knott, 44, 45. it was written by the King's command, 142. cited 57, 58.
- Presbytery, the first-born of all Presbyteries in England, 75. See *Non-conformity*.
- Prideaux (John)* is desired to examine Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to Knott, 137, 138. his Approbation prefix'd to it, 142, 147. a pretended saying of his concerning that Book, confuted, 146, 147.
- Protestants, too much inclin'd to play the Pope, 214, 215. ought not to offer violence to other men's consciences, 216 & seqq. the Bible only is the Religion of Protestants, 192 & seqq. how they might agree, 202 & seqq. 215, 216. their separation from the Church of Rome not schismatical, but innocent just and necessary, 220.
- Prynne (William)* 12, 13.

R

- R**eligion, nothing is more against Religion than to force Religion, 216. changes of Religion accounted odious and infamous, 22. whether they are blame-worthy, 26, 27.
- Ribadeneira (Peter)* the first Author of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, 233.
- Romish Religion. See *Church*.
- Rushworth*, alias *Richworth (William)* who is the Author of the *Dialogues* that go under his name, 41.
- Rushworth (John)* his description of some engines of war invented by Mr. Chillingworth, 280, 281. cited, 4, 270 & *alibi passim*.

I N D E X.

- S**abbath, the Jewish Sabbath, wherein it consisted, 84, 85. is abolished, 81, 82.
- Sabbath, the Christian Sabbath. See *Sunday*.
- Sage (John)* his *Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianick Age*, answer'd, 310.
- Saint-Evremond (Charles de)* cited, 181.
- Salvian*, his plea for the Arians, 58, 59.
- Sayer (Dr. Exton)* 266.
- Schism, wherein it consists, 169, 193, 194. the fountain of all the Schisms of the Church, 214, 215.
- Schismatick, whether men become schismaticks by forsaking such opinions as they think erroneous, 218 & seqq.
- Scripture, the only true solid foundation of our Faith, 194 & seqq. the advantage of adhering to it, 199, 200.
- Sheldon (Gilbert)* his intimacy with Mr. Chillingworth, 3. endeavours to satisfy Mr. Chillingworth's Scruples about subscribing to the thirty nine Articles, 101 & seqq. his sense of the Subscription, 90, 103. highly esteemed by Mr. Chillingworth, 337, 348.
- Skinner (Robert)* Mr. Chillingworth's Tutor, 2.
- Smith (Thomas)* Fellow of Christ College in Cambridge, his judgment of Daillé's *Treatise of the right Use of the Fathers*, 116 & seqq. his Translation of Daillé's *Apology for the Reformed Churches*, 244. his Preface prefix'd to that Translation, *ibid.* vindicates Mr. Chillingworth against Lacy, 249, 250. against Knott, 257, 258. his judgment of Knott's *Infidelity unmasked*, 263 & seqq. mistaken, 44.
- Socinianism, charged upon Mr. Chillingworth by Knott, 106, 123. & seqq. 130, 225, 229, 230. by Cheynell, 275 & seqq. 319. explicates the laws of Christ with great rigour, 154. not a way of preferment, *ibid.* what sort of men have chiefly fallen under the imputation of Socinianism, 370, & seqq.

I N D E X.

- Southwell* (*Nathanael*) the last continuator of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, some of his omissions and mistakes, 232, 233, 234. cited, 5, 44, 234, 242.
- Statesmen, their Creed, 217, 218.
- Stillington* (*Edward*) changed his opinion with respect to the sense of the Subscription to the thirty nine Articles, 95.
- Stradling* (*George*) 222.
- Strickland* (.....) a member of Parliament, his zeal for a farther Reformation in the Church, 67, 68.
- Styke* (*John*) mistaken, 65. cited, 66.
- Subscription to the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England. See *Articles*.
- Suckling* (*Sir John*) cited, 3.
- Sunday, the sense of the Church of England concerning that holy day, 82, 83. on what occasion it is lawful and necessary to work that day, 84.
- Sylvester* (*Edward*) a noted Latinist and Grecian, Mr. Chillingworth's School-master, 2.

T

- T***Aylor* (*Jeremy*) his esteem for Daillé, 117, 118.
- Taylor* (.....) his character, 50.
- Tenison* (*Thomas*) communicates to the publick some pieces of Mr. Chillingworth, 226.
- Tertullian*, he that should now express himself as he hath done, would be esteemed an Arian, 52, 53, 61.
- Tillotson* (*John*) his observation on Mr. Chillingworth's being charged with Socinianism, 372. cited, 42, 261.
- Tradition, no Tradition but may be plainly proved, either to have been brought in, in such an age after Christ; or that in such an age it was not in, 195.

I N D E X.

V

Villiers (*George*) Duke of Buckingham. See *Buckingham*.

Unity, there are but two ways to reduce Christians to Unity of Communion, 206, 207.

Usher (*James*) Archbishop of Armagh, his judgment concerning the essentials of Religion censur'd by Knott, 206. defended by Mr. Chillingworth, 206 & seqq. publishes a Book of Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, 307. and a small Tract of Mr. Chillingworth, *ibid*. his *brief Treatise touching the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans*, *ibid*.

W

Walker (*John*) a mistake in his *Attempt*, &c. and the occasion of it, 302. gives a wrong date of the Death of Mr. Chillingworth, 345.

Waterland (*Daniel*) his account of the Athanasian Creed, 80.

Wentworth (*Peter*) a member of Parliament, sent to Archbishop Parker for the Articles of Religion, 72. his Answer to that Prelate, *ibid*.

Wharton (*Henry*) his Manuscripts bought by Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, and presented to the Lambeth Library, 298. the said Manuscripts cited, 99, 268, 272, 300. the Catalogue of them cited, 104, 298 & seqq. his account of Archbishop Laud's papers, 13.

White (*Thomas*) is the true Author of *Rushworth's Dialogues*, 41. his Conference with Mr. Chillingworth, 42.

Whiteside (*John*) Keeper of the *Museum Ashmoleanum*, 106.

Wilson (*Matthias*.) See *Knott*.

I N D E X.

Wood (Anthony) some of his mistakes, 16, 17, 30, 56, 146 & seqq. 231, 235, 244, 325, 345, 346. cited, 1, 2, & *alibi passim*.
Wood (.....) the Pretender's Physician, his calumny against Mr. Chillingworth, 23, 24.
Woodhead (Abraham) cited, 93, 94.
Wurts (General) an ingenious saying of his, 181.

T H E E N D.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 5. l. 6. from the bottom, read *differenem*. p. 8. l. 22. r. *masters*. p. 15. l. 9. from the bottom r. *he hath fallen*. p. 24. l. 5. from the bottom, r. *such a Letter*. p. 31. l. 9. from the bottom, *better*, r. *best*. p. 32. l. 28. *It is*, r. *Is it*. p. 39. l. 12. r. *Collyridians*. p. 66. l. 11. r. *Burleigh*. p. 80. l. 8. from the bottom, r. *Churches*. p. 121. l. 15. from the bottom, *qui*, r. *qui*. p. 129. l. 3. r. *prepossest*. p. 142. l. 2. from the bottom, r. *Baylie*. p. 164. l. 5. from the bottom, *upon*, r. *against*. p. 188. in the marginal note (2), p. . . . r. p. 132. p. 122. l. 6. *of*, r. *of the*. p. 225. l. 15. from the bottom, r. *which*. p. 233. l. 11. and 18. from the bottom, r. *Alegambe*. p. 255. l. 11. dele. *be*. p. 260. l. 7. from the bottom, *it is*, r. *is it*. p. 262. l. 3. *ne-*cessary, r. *necessarily*. p. 297. l. 9. *Badg*, r. *Badg*.

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